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The Capital Region of New York State



New York State Capitol

The Capital Region of New York State

CROSSROADS OF EMPIRE

Comprising

ALBANY — COLUMBIA
RENSSELAER — SCHENECTADY
GREENE — SCHOHARIE
MONTGOMERY — FULTON
HERKIMER — OTSEGO

COUNTIES and ENVIRONS

BY

FRANCIS P. KIMBALL

VOLUME I

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DEDICATION

To Christine

Preface

The people who came to settle in the Capital Region were certainly among the bravest men and women on earth. Playing a dramatic part in the making of the Nation, they have left a priceless heritage to the modern residents of this mountain-hemmed Doorway to the West.

Few if any areas of the United States have been more eventful. Only one, the James River region of Virginia, rivals it for age of settlement. The pioneers of these valleys, following Henry Hudson's pathway up the river, made their homes in what was originally Albany County, then a vast territory stretching away indefinitely to the North and West above Ulster and Dutchess counties, and from which most of the other counties of the State have since been taken. From the river banks they spread to the interior, and there, for generations before the Revolution, faced perils calling for the utmost hardihood.

The ever-increasing public interest in the origins of our Democracy renders it appropriate that the Capital Region have a history of its own to which it may refer and in which its progress down to the present day may be amply recorded. This is one of the truly great corners of America; one that has been a great contributor to the national development, today no less than yesterday. Here have occurred events which turned the course of our national life. And very often residents of the region have been outstanding actors in the drama.

Furnishing the early impetus for settlement were Fort Orange, the Dutch West India Company's outpost and the colony of the Patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer. Thus Van Curler, Patroon's cousin, was the founder of Schenectady. Robert Livingston, clérk of Albany, became the first lord of the Manor of Livingston in Columbia County. The Catskill region was settled from Fort Orange and by various other patentees, including the Bronk family, noted as the founders of a borough in New York City. To Schoharie and the upper Mohawk went the Palatines after dire sufferings on the banks of the Hudson. Otsego pioneers, too, moved through the Hudson gateway before the Revolu-

tion, to be followed by the Coopers. Families intermarried throughout the region, so the number of family ties became a complicated pattern.

Great national events transpired. Here, for the conquest of Canada, were assembled the largest armies America had seen. But this only after the Albany Congress of 1754 had heard Benjamin Franklin's ringing proposal for a Plan of Union—the first definite expression of an idea which kept growing insistently until it bloomed into the Declaration of Independence. And at Fort Crailo, in 1758, as tradition has it, "Yankee Doodle" was written.

Here the militia and Continentals rallied to check St. Leger at Oriskany and Fort Stanwix; and defeat Burgoyne's invaders at Walloomsac and Saratoga—playing that self-same "Yankee Doodle" with a different twist. And afterward came the blood-curdling raids through the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys when patriots found their Tory neighbors joining the savages in atrocities never to be forgotten.

At what sacrifice was the soil of these Counties won! For this was the great battleground from the wilderness days. Sturdy is the heritage that has come down to us.

Occupying the main routes of development, the people of the region were "in" at many famous events. They saw the "Clermont" making its epochal voyage in 1807; yelled themselves hoarse as the canal boats first came from the West and sank through tiny, magical locks to the Hudson; watched the iron horse dash wildly across the sand plains to Schenectady in 1831; saw the forest give way before the advance of the turnpikes and the settlers' cabins—as since they have seen palatial steamboats, streamliner trains, automobiles and pioneers such as Glenn Curtiss, wobbling through the air after taking off from a cabbage patch in Albany to make the first long-distance flight in America.

No less remarkable has been the modern age—the era of tall buildings, invention and great industries; the era that has brought the flinging of giant spans over the rivers while the covered bridges of old have all but disappeared; the era of famous schools, libraries, laboratories; of modern highways, urban and farm growth. The pioneering does not cease. Even now television operates from a tower in the Helderbergs.

If there is one point which should be stressed above others, it is that neither the heroes nor the sacrifices of preceding generations are familiarly enough known. It is only, perhaps, when guns sound again and our precious liberties are endangered that we begin in

earnest to scan the record and to grasp, in some degree, the immense depth of character which actuated those who erected our State and Nation. The events that have transpired in these hills and valleys outdo fiction, since they represent the real struggle for liberty, fought out in flesh and blood under a great variety of circumstances. The author found it to be so, and the reader may also discover that the guns of the past echo continuously through the story of the struggle toward freedom; and today's larger weapons are only another phase of the battle that began when the first settlers set foot upon this soil.

One generation opens the road over which another generation travels, says an old Chinese proverb. America is making new roads again, revitalizing itself in the throes of an epic world struggle in which the stake is the preservation of the marvel of liberty. The people of the Capital Region may take just pride that theirs was a key area in the dawn of human freedom and, unless Creasy is to be discounted, the most important one. We still may wonder how it came to be that shots at Lexington could have evoked repercussions so promptly in the Mohawk Valley, almost three hundred miles to the west in the American forest depths. Yet the Palatines quickly rose to the crisis, demanding relief from rankling injustice, and the whole frontier from the German Flats to and down the Hudson burst aflame with the same zeal.

When we understand that the Revolution in this region was marked not only by resistance to foreign invasion, but by a civil war, neighbor against neighbor, with once friendly Indians turned into bloodthirsty harpies, we will gain a clearer concept of the kind of heroism on which our liberties are founded.

The America that was born in the Revolution was the product of years of preparation for such a moment in history. We are learning now that the American brand of freedom is unique in the world; in its origin on this soil; and to appreciate what strength is necessary to shatter tyrannical yokes.

America must recover its ideals; its soundness of heart and mind. There is no better aid, perhaps, than reviewing the record of what has been accomplished in war and peace. The aim of this work has been to present faithfully and comprehensively the progress of our people, their institutions, achievements, inventiveness; their hours of stress and their triumphs during an amazing epoch.

In setting down the narrative frequent citation has been made from documentary sources. The objective has been to relate the happenings within county areas to the larger development of the

region, and to reveal the part which so-called local men played in these major events. History did not stop at county borders, but carried on through entire zones, and in many instances happenings originating on this soil have been universal in their effect upon the Nation. The chapter on the Indians of the Capital Region has been included since, for a century and a half before the Revolution, the Red Brothers were very much a part of the record.

To the many friends who have assisted in this work, great appreciation is due. For the advice and aid of Dr. Arthur Pound, State Historian; Hugh M. Flick, State Archivist; Miss Edna L. Jacobsen, head, manuscripts section, New York State Library; Percy M. Van Epps, Schenectady historian and archæologist; Harry V. Bush, Canajoharie, Mohawk Valley historian; Arthur B. Gregg, historian of the Helderbergs; and Mrs. Jessie Van Vechten Vedder, Greene County historian, the author is particularly grateful. To all who have assisted in reading and consultation on the manuscript many sincere thanks are extended.

FRANCIS P. KIMBALL.

Albany, New York.

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CHAPTER I

What is the Capital Region?

Ten Counties Centering on the Mohawk, Hudson and Upper Susquehanna Valleys—Closely Related in Origin and Development to Albany County, First One to be Erected in up-State New York by the Famous Assembly of 1683—First Frontier of New York State and Interior of the American Colonies—Its Marked Beauty—Contributions to the Cause of Liberty—Outstanding Inventiveness of Its People—One of the Most Significant Regions of America.

The ten counties of New York State defined herein as composing the Capital Region occupy a unique place in American development.

Bordering the Hudson, Mohawk and upper Susquehanna valleys, they are most closely related in order of settlement and family ties to the pioneer outpost of the State. This was Fort Van Nassau, built by the Dutch in 1614, following Henry Hudson's voyage up the river, later known as Fort Orange, as Beverwyck, and since 1664 (except for a brief interval when the Dutch recaptured the Province) as Albany.

The name "Capital Region" is applied since Albany, the principal settlement and market of the region in the first two centuries of American development, has been the State capital since 1797. The counties thus grouped are Albany, Rensselaer, Schenectady, Columbia, Greene, Schoharie, Montgomery, Fulton, Herkimer and Otsego. The area they occupy was once included in the vast up-State territory defined as Albany County in the Act of the Colonial Assembly dated November 1, 1683.

Albany was one of ten present counties thus created, the others being New York, West Chester, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange, Richmond, Kings, Queens and Suffolk. The Assembly which enacted the measure itself was an unexpected and prescient event, being the first popular Legislature of freeholders in the Province of New York. So far in advance of the age did it appear, indeed, that the Duke of York and Albany, who called it, promptly cancelled the meetings when he ascended the throne as James II.

Indicative of the primitive condition of the country at the time were the indefinite boundaries assigned to Albany County. So extensive was this area that no exact northern or western limits were set down. The Act, as Prof. Jonathan Tenney noted, set out a territory that was vastly larger than those early governors and legislators knew, "embracing the whole territory lying north of Ulster and west of the Hudson River, and taking in nearly the whole State, even to Canada and the Lakes; and north of Dutchess, on the east side of the Hudson, including the whole of what is now the State of Vermont."

"Indeed," Professor Tenney adds, "the State of Vermont and the fifty counties of the State of New York, erected since this date, were all formed from the original territorial limits (of Albany County), except Putnam, Sullivan, Rockland and part of Green (*sic*) and Delaware. . . . . What a mother of counties is old Albany!"

Joined as they have been economically and socially, the counties of the Capital Region have retained, nevertheless, their marked individualism and characteristics. They possess a lore of rich and singular quality, all too little of which is generally known. The region scenically is one of the most notably beautiful and varied in the United States, with its magnificent rivers, broad valleys, towering Catskills, Helderbergs, Hoosacs and Taconics; gorges, underground caverns, fertile agricultural lands, lakes, forests, waterfalls, mysterious coves, and riverside retreats.

Historically, it gains special lustre from the fact that it was the northern frontier not only of New York but of the American Colonies, holding the most dangerous zone, that nearest the Iroquois Confederacy. The horrors of frontier warfare that descended upon the settlers and their families during the century and a half preceding the founding of the Republic have left a legend that goes far beyond the sufferings of any other locality of Colonial days.

The time undoubtedly approaches when this Region will receive appreciation of a special sort for the part it played in the making of America. Inquiry is abroad to determine the basic causes which led to the birth of freedom on this continent, now seen to be a phenomenon in the modern world. The quest is being pursued in many directions. Was it the outcome of religious persecution in the Old World which sent harassed peoples hurrying to a fresh haven? Was liberty indigenous to this soil as some have contended, pointing to the proud declarations of the Iroquois that they were "free born?" Or was freedom the product of pioneer hardship and determination to set the world on a new course?

Lincoln once said:

> "There must have been something more than common that these men struggled for. I am exceedingly anxious that that thing—that something even more than national independence; that something that held out a great promise to all the people of the world to all time to come—I am exceedingly anxious that this Union, the Constitution, and the liberties of the people shall be perpetuated in accordance with the original idea for which that struggle was made."

For such a search into the origin of the free American, there is no better place to begin than the Capital Region. No greater testimony can be found to the intrinsic value of the American system than that exemplified in the lives and deeds of these dwellers. Here is plainly to be traced the faith and deathless attachment that developed among a people of diverse origins for the new land of their choice; the brave and loyal manner in which they fought for it; and the stunning sweep of their powers once the yoke was lifted.

If it can be set forth, as one day it is bound to be, that the national American destiny was guided by the events in this region, it can also safely be asserted that no locality has contributed more through its inventive genius and leadership to American development since the Republic was formed. Freemen made a new America in less than half the time it took to get rid of the Old World system that hobbled its steps in the first two centuries of growth. The wonders of that performance are still with us. And no less today than yesterday the great valleys of the Capital Region are turning out magical products of a magical age. The record of the Region in industrial production and invention is so huge as to be almost beyond belief.

The position that it came to hold as the first important frontier of westward development exerted so profound an influence upon the habits and lives of the people as to be carried down for generations; and unquestionably has its reflection in the solid habits, thrift, courage and forthrightness of the Region's inhabitants today.

The geographic position in which the Region was placed, abutting or accessible readily from the two greatest eastern rivers, the Hudson and the Mohawk, from the beginning attracted European attention as a magnet. As a consequence, settlers who came to these counties intending to pursue peaceful careers as trappers or farmers, found themselves, willingly or otherwise, actors on a stage of dramatic import. The action phase began with Henry Hudson's epic voyage in the



(From a print in the Collection of Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.)

The Harbor of Albany in the 1820s from the Southerly Shore of Rensselaer

"Half Moon" during the brilliant autumn of 1609, and from that time never really ceased.

It would be a mistake to assume that the average Walloon, Dutchman, Norwegian, Huguenot, Scotchman, Dane, Swede or Irishman who drifted to Albany County shores in the seventeenth century lived sluggishly or indifferent to the current of events about him. The sparseness of the population on this frontier and the fact that for more than a century all males of sixteen to sixty were on call for militia duty, required to remain within arm's reach of rifle and powder to stand off a foe, indicate that such isolation could have been only temporary.

The Mohawk-Hudson gateway became the passage for the entire pageant which we regard as typical of American growth. The traders and settlers followed the explorers; and after them came the warriors, the forest conflict, guerrilla raids, scalpings and other savagery, until the Revolution brought victory and peace. There then unfolded the immense epoch of westward expansion, which in view of the number and quality of the events must have swept excitement into every corner of the Region.

To this tidewater head came Iroquois braves in pursuits as varied as trade, peace and war; here also during the long clash with Canada came the greatest British armies seen on the continent, an occasion which inspired so much awe among the homespun Colonials as to cause Dr. Richard Shuckburg, British Army surgeon, to compose "Yankee Doodle" while sitting on the well at Fort Crailo, in Rensselaer—the song that was played with such effect at Saratoga nearly twenty years later.

In such events as these the story of the Capital Region reveals its share in the national evolution. It is its highest mark that at Albany, the ancient covenant-house for Colonial treaty-making between Provincial governors and the Iroquois rulers of the forest, in 1754 was held the original Continental Congress—an occasion at which Benjamin Franklin presented a plan of union formally proposing for the first time a federal organization on this side of the Atlantic. It was rejected then by the King and the Colonies, but twenty-two years later the bells of independence rang out. The idea then set going, as eminent historians have ascertained, never ceased to echo from the time it was uttered in the Albany Stadt Huys. Recently the State of New York has affixed an official marker on the site in the Albany Plaza, proclaiming this to be the "Birthplace of the American Union."

Union! It was a new theme when Franklin set it forth. But how quickly it won its way! That could not have happened except for

the events that had gone before; the border wars, and the common peril that in the formative and crucial time had fused the incongruous elements. The study of the Capital Region will reveal how diverse these people were on the "home" soil. They were not all Dutch or English by any means, as has been inferred. Except for the bold explorers, the Walloons, French-speaking Protestants from the Belgic provinces lying between Holland and France, composed the first band of settlers to reach Albany. They were religious emigrés. Among the colonists of the Patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, subsequently arriving to take up farms in his 700,000-acre *bouwerie,* were many scattered nationalities, though the preponderant numbers were, of course, from Holland, up to 1664, when the Dutch régime lapsed. How the Dutch spelled names of the pioneers or attached distinguishing labels to them for identification is one of the interesting subjects of inquiry. A colonist whose name when he came ashore at Rensselaerwyck, as Albany County was then known, was apparently Albert Andriessen—Albert, son of Andries—is listed in Dutch records as "Albert Andriessen de Noorman," indicating that he had come from Normandy. There were, however, two brothers Andriessen and in course of time they were called "de Noorman Bratt," or Norman brothers. Within a few years they are referred to permanently with the surname of "Bratt" or "Bradt," the latter spelling surviving to this day.

It may be that linguistic difficulties handicapped the early interpretations of the Dutch period, and made all the easier such jocund interpretations of the Hollanders as those of Washington Irving. The important work of the State of New York through the Education Department and the Division of Archives and History, especially in the valuable translations by Dr. A. J. F. Van Laer, has added vastly to our knowledge of the lives of the venturesome folk who became the first citizens of the State. Irving's characterization of Dutchmen as fat, lazy and pompous was far from the truth so far as the frontier was concerned. There they were lean, vigorous, keen-witted and a match for the best in the land either in physical combat or a trade.

As to what these people accomplished, there is no doubt. The documentary records now available reveal to what an extent Colonial destiny ran through the hands of the Albany County leaders who were members of the Indian Board and became famed as experts in forest diplomacy. Greene, and some other historians, have asserted that during the period of greatest Iroquois strength, the fate of New

York and the English colonies along the coast rested largely upon the sagacity of a handful of Albany County Dutchmen. Among these were Arent Van Curler, relative of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer and founder of Schenectady in 1661; and Peter Schuyler, who became Albany's first mayor under its charter of 1686.

The Iroquois called governors of New York "Corlear" at their conferences ever after in honor of Van Curler's straightforward dealings with them; and addressed mayors of Albany as "Brother Quider," for Schuyler, this being as close to the pronunciation of his name as they could come. The Provincial governors deferred constantly to the advice of the Albany Indian Commissioners as they later did to Sir William Johnson, of Fort Johnson and Johnstown, when he assumed the duties of Indian Superintendent for the British Crown two decades before the Revolution. Sir William's sway over the savages until his death in 1774 was enormous, and has been chronicled exceptionally well in "Johnson of the Mohawks," by Arthur Pound, New York State Historian.

Those who have blamed the early Colonials of the Capital Region for not pushing settlement faster into the wilderness take small account of the dangers that were faced. It was true enough that the Patroon's perpetual leases retarded agricultural development and slowed down the colonizing process at the upper reaches of the river. To many of those who crossed the ocean in that period, however, the years of indenture or other service required were a vast improvement over their previous condition; and others were permitted to come as free settlers, erecting their own farms and enjoying all privileges, including free trade, almost from the beginning. The real blockade to settlement was the presence of the Five Nations of Iroquois (later Six Nations) across the Mohawk River country. The Iroquois utilized their vantage seat in the protected valley to carry on wars of conquest which ranged through the forest from Maine to the Carolinas and even to the Mississippi. They knew that the white man, whatever his pretenses, had come not merely to trade but to acquire land.

The savages were in no mood to give up their hunting lands or be driven from their favorite villages. The French raided them repeatedly from Canada, knowing that this was the first step essential to conquest of the English and Dutch in New York. The harrowing of the frontier continued for a century of Colonial warfare. It took a hundred years for settlement to spread from Albany (Fort Orange) to Herkimer, eighty miles up the Mohawk Valley. It was not, indeed,

until the Iroquois cast their lot with the British in the Revolution, that their grip on the Mohawk and Susquehanna country was really broken. Capital Region folk, at least, cannot be charged with the remorseless destruction of the natives that went on in other sections of Colonial America. There were evidences that they understood the forest brothers as well as anyone could and over a considerable period enjoyed with them a singular alliance of friendship.

In the Revolution, the crippling of Burgoyne's famous three-way drive to split the Colonies by uniting at Albany with St. Leger from the west and Howe from the south was the result of heroic work by General Herkimer and the militia of German Flats, at Oriskany. This fierce battle, which orphaned half the children of the Mohawk Valley, stopped St. Leger's advance, though Herkimer received a mortal wound. The valor of the Palatines deserves far greater recognition than it has ever received. That the turning back of St. Leger was a vital blow to Burgoyne has long since been conceded. It has its historic retribution in the fact that the Palatines, religious refugees, were provided with homes along German Flats by Governor Burnet with the idea that they should become a "barrier" against Britain's old enemy, the French. The lapse of a few years, however, found the picture altered so completely that the Palatines, as loyal patriots, administered a death blow to Burgoyne's aspirations. Also on the soil of the Capital Region was the battle of Walloomsac, better known as the battle of Bennington, in which Stark's forces routed a foraging party under Baum, and thus clipped off Burgoyne's remaining wing. Saratoga, where Burgoyne capitulated at last, was at the time within the domain of Albany County.

And so, how inseparably and directly are the people of the Capital Region linked with the Burgoyne defeat, the military event which Creasy placed at the top of the list of the crucial battles as the one which, enabling the creation of a free Republic, changed the course of the world more than any other single event.

The birth of the Nation brought with it a seething period of expansion which swept the forest down. Indian paths and ox-cart trails had to be reconstructed to carry the rush of settlers. In a few years were witnessed the phenomenal steamboat voyage of Robert Fulton, financially aided by Chancellor Livingston; the opening of the Erie Canal from Buffalo to Albany; the spread of stagecoaches to all outlying communities, beginning the era of turnpikes which has left such pleasant echoes in Cherry Valley and on other famous coaching routes; and the triumphal run of the first steam railroad in the



Howe Caverns—Ivory Tinted Pipe Organ

State of New York across the sand plains between Albany and Schenectady.

The chronicle of that era is still being told, since in the fever of events, people forgot to put down the records. Thus the date of Fulton's trial trip on the Hudson is shrouded in uncertainty, nor was the actual first run of the Mohawk & Hudson Railroad any better preserved. But the impulse of these developments rebuilt the State and set going smokefires of industry along rivers and valleys, even in mountain heights, where not long before there had been waving forest and smokefire of savages.

It will be evident from the story that follows that the Capital Region received such an impact from the new era of buoyant enterprise that it was struck with inventive fire. It is certainly significant that the first citizen-born American President, Martin Van Buren, of Kinderhook, came from this Region; as it is that in this Region through the genius of James Fenimore Cooper was born the first American novel. Cooperstown is triply rich in its lore of Americana, with its authentic claim to parenthood of the game of baseball, and the publication of the Beadle dime novels, which generations of youths hid in their geographies.

The cities and towns of the Region enjoy a rich and colorful background. Johnstown, for instance, was cut from the wilderness to become the lordly seat of Sir William of the Mohawks, and has evolved into one of the specialized industrial cities of the East.

Some of the communities began as wilderness forts, such as Albany and Fort Plain. Some were Erie Canal ports, like Port Jackson, now a part of Amsterdam. Canajoharie, a trading port on the canal, was and is a gateway to the Cherry Valley. Schenectady, founded by a group of farming proprietors, has risen to "light and haul the world." Troy is the famed collar and shirt producer and Gloversville "gloves" the world. Quaker whaling masters came to settle Hudson, a maritime adventure which founded a city noted for its diversity of manufacture. Prattsville in the Catskills boomed with a mighty tanning industry and still exhibits high on rocks above the village the portrait of Zadock Pratt, the pioneer. From this mountain community, too, came William Bullock, who devised the modern web printing press. Ilion, with its typewriters and guns; Newport, birthplace of the Yale lock, are among the many other contributors to the Region. Research is disclosing much that has been overlooked. Joseph Henry, of Albany, is now recognized as the pioneer of radio, telegraph and telephone; as Samuel F. B. Morse,

once an artist in Cooperstown, is famed as the practical constructor of the telegraph. Palatine Bridge is famed for the palace cars of Webster Wagner, as Central Bridge is for George Westinghouse, the air brake inventor.

Of such is the absorbing record of the Capital Region. The splitting up of Albany County did not begin until 1772, when Sir William Johnson, having taken his home off to Johnstown, engineered the organization of Tryon County. This removed the western part of the State from Albany County beyond the Schenectady line. Tryon's name was changed to Montgomery in 1784 to erase the British aura and honor a patriot, and the subdivision proceeded apace, in keeping with the surge of settlement.

From Albany County were set off Columbia County in 1786; Rensselaer County in 1791; Schoharie in 1795 (part taken also from Otsego County); Greene in 1800; Schenectady in 1809. From Montgomery County were taken Herkimer and Otsego in 1791 and Fulton in 1838. Albany County in the process has shrunk to half the size it had back in 1630 when Sebastian Jansen Krol, agent for Van Rensselaer, bought the land from the Mahikan sachems.

The Capital Region is dotted today with the thick-walled homes of the pioneers, loopholed for gunfire; with churches once used for forts, as at Schoharie. Queen Anne's Parsonage, built for her mission to the Mohawks, still stands in the village of Fort Hunter. Up and down the rivers and in the hills are many more such places, rich in the traditions of the Region. Traveling through it reveals what a treasure-trove of American growth it is; and how much of the heritage of freemen has sprung from this soil. Each county has its story to tell, its valuable contributions to the whole. What this record has been, including the growth of the modern communities, will be told in the ensuing pages.

CHAPTER II

Hudson Sails to "Neere the Fortie Three Degree"

The Voyage of a Famous Arctic Explorer Which Marked the Beginning of the Written History of New York State and the Capital Region —Hudson's Aims in Sailing Across the Atlantic—Hostility at the Lower End of the River, Welcome from the Friendly Mahikan—Hudson Dines at the Schodack Castle—His Reception at Albany —The "Farewell Party"—Learns There Was "An End for Shipping to Goe In."

The story of the Capital Region begins with one of the world's high adventures.

Dwellers in these snug valleys and lovely hills, seemingly remote from the sea, sometimes forget that they owe their occupancy of this fair land to the attempt of a brave English navigator to solve the greatest quest of his era.

Search for a new road to the Orient was the engrossing subject of Holland, France and England in their rivalry with Portugal and Spain for world trade. It was the theme close to the heart of every navigator. So much so, that with something of the imagination of Columbus in attaching the name "Indians" to the natives of Cuba, it has been suggested that Hudson should have named the aborigines he found "Chinese."

The quest for Cathay is, indeed, commemorated on the St. Lawrence River, where Samuel de Champlain named the rapids above Montreal "LaChine," thinking them to be a part of the oriental road. On the Hudson, there exists no such title of fantasy; yet the legend left by the brave explorer, cruising in his tiny ship, is as deathless as the mysterious sea tides which led the "Half Moon" northward on its journey.

It is possible, if the full account of the voyage were known, the tides have received insufficient credit for the achievement. These

impulses of the sea roll so far through the long fjord that there are always two tides in the river, and a navigator starting out from New York on one flood tide will meet another far upstream. Even today the tidal lift at the Albany shore, three to four feet, is considered a phenomenon, and travelers are surprised to discover that although they are 150 miles inland from the Atlantic, they are still at sea level.

There is no doubt, however, that Hudson was the most delighted man aboard the "Half Moon" when it passed in through the Narrows of New York Bay and headed northward with the up-tide, on the great stream welling, as Verrazano had said, "out of the mountains." Who could tell whether this might not be another Strait of Magellan, threading a mountainous pass, with a shining ocean, fame and fortune beyond? Or that a few days journey ahead might be seen the pagodas of Cathay? Did Hudson utter a prayer of hope as he stood on the deck, watching the tall Palisades slip by? At nightfall did he quietly withdraw to his cabin and finger the silken robes of the mandarin coat that skippers always carried in those days in the event they should need to repay oriental courtesies?

To Hudson, his arrival that far was a gratifying moment. Although the fact seems generally overlooked, he had been thinking for more than a year of making an Atlantic crossing. It was a decided stroke of fortune that he found his wish realized.

His hankering for the Americas is traceable to his friendship with Captain John Smith, leader of the Jamestown Colony in Virginia, with whom he had had many discussions. Hudson's own navigation studies had acquainted him with a map drawn by Martin Locke in 1582. This revealed a narrow neck of land not far north of Virginia in the vicinity of forty degrees north latitude, to the west of which there was a great ocean labelled "Verrazano Sea." Where Locke obtained his information is unknown, but the map, while hazy in the extreme, held out the promise that if one could get into Verrazano Sea, there was no other barrier and nothing to do but sail on to China. Verrazano, in 1524, had cruised the Atlantic coast, entering New York Harbor, when he may have been told by the imaginative natives of a western sea (or misunderstood them to that effect). Verrazano for this visit is ranked as the discoverer of the Hudson River, though he did not ascend above the Palisades.

Locke's map, in spite of its generalizations, filled out strange tales Captain Smith had told Hudson about a western sea lying above Virginia. So his appetite for cruising the Western Hemisphere had been whetted. But his other assignments kept preventing. He was

the ranking Polar explorer of his day, and his employers kept sending him to find a route through the ice fields of the Arctic to the eastern spice marts. In 1608, when in the service of the Muscovy Company of London, he explored north of Spitzbergen and along Greenland in the ship "Hopewell." After running into the ice for eight days, he was forced to halt. He then proposed to the crew that since they appeared to be no more successful than ever in smashing their way east, they try the western road, and sail for America. The crew, however, was faint-hearted, and they returned fruitless to their home port.

It may have been that Hudson's English employees were themselves now wearied of their quest, or Hudson himself may have sought the employ of the Dutch for his next voyage. There was nothing unusual then in expert navigators of one country entering the service of another. When he sailed from Amsterdam on April 4, 1609, as master of "De Halve Maen," with a crew of twenty Dutch and English sailors, a Dutch mate and salary promised of $320, his orders were once more to try for a passage to the east across the Arctic Circle. He faithfully followed the orders until his ship, having passed Nova Zembla, ran into heavy ice floes. The floes may have been thicker than usual, or as Brodhead says, some of the crew having been used to East India runs and warmer weather, began to munity.

Since there seemed no prospect of going on, Hudson undoubtedly did not want the reputation of returning empty handed from another voyage. The crew murmurings furnished an excuse, of sorts at least, for a departure from course. As the Van Meteren account goes, Hudson thereupon gave his officers and crew the choice of two proposals:

> "The first was to go to the coast of America at the fortieth degree of latitude, mostly incited to this by letters and maps which a certain Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia, and in which he showed him a sea by which he might circumnavigate their southern colony (Virginia) from the north, and from there pass into a western sea. The other proposal was to seek the passage by Davis's Strait."

Very little seems to have been said about going to Davis's Strait. It was likely to be as cold and troublesome as the place they had already been. That left the decision in favor of the American coast —the coast of Captain John Smith and Verrazano Sea. Very likely

Hudson chuckled a bit as he gave the order to set sail for the Faroe Islands, to fill the water casks for the voyage across the Atlantic.

They reached the Faroes (Islands of Farre, as Robert Juet, of Limehouse, Hudson's chronicler, termed them) on May 30, and from there marked a course for Newfoundland. They met raging storms, which carried down a mast on June 15, and did not reach the Newfoundland Banks until July 1—a month after leaving the Faroes. It seems remarkable that the "Half Moon," on a voyage of discovery, could have met so many other ships and people. But on July 3, Juet records: "This morning we were among a great fleet of Frenchmen, which lay fishing on the Banke; but we spoke with none of them." The fact was, of course, that since the time of Cabot and Cartier, French, English and other sailors had been going for years to the banks for cod fishing. With the entire American continent almost within arm's reach, the wonder was so little curiosity was evidenced toward it.

Wending their way past the fishermen, the "Half Moon" expedition kept on southward, sighting land July 12, described as "low sandie ground right ahead of us." A few days later they went ashore in Maine, probably near Penobscot Bay, cutting a mast to replace the one lost on the crossing. On July 20 two canoes full of Indians came off the Maine coast in "French shallops" to trade their beaver skins. Juet notes that the savages wanted cloth and knives, hatchets and various trinkets and red-colored garments, "for the French trade with them for red Cassockes." They passed Cape Cod August 6, described by Juet as "the headland which Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold discovered in the yeare 1602," and kept on southward. On August 18 they sighted land and "came in over the Barre of Virginia."

Juet quaintly set it down that: "This is the entrance into the Kings River in Virginia, where our own English-men are." So they had arrived off Jamestown, which was already laying the basis for its reputation as the oldest English settlement in America—the Jamestown of Smith and of Pocahontas and John Rolph; the Jamestown of malaria and pestilence; of massacre and suffering, and of final extinction.

But Captain Hudson, well as he knew John Smith, did not venture into Chesapeake Bay. They were not "his Englishmen" now. He was sailing for the Dutch East India Company, whose orange, white and blue flag snapped from the masthead with the scrolled monogram "AOC" (Algemene Oost-indische Compagnie) across the field. Possibly Hudson did not want to risk an international incident; more

likely, knowing ships were passing from Virginia to England, he did not wish to be reported scouting for the Dutch along that western shore. The "Half Moon" instead swung down toward the North Carolina coast, and seeing nothing of interest, headed about and began the trek along the northward shore. On August 28, they ran into Delaware Bay, misnamed since for Lord De La Warr, an English Governor of Jamestown, but which definitely belongs to Hudson's discoveries. Quickly concluding that this was not the Verrazano Sea, Hudson continued on. Wrote Juet: "He that will thoroughly discover this great Bay must have a small Pinnace, that must draw but four or five foot water for the Norther land is full of shoals."

They were now drawing near what proved to be Hudson's great objective. On September 2nd, still going northwest, they came to "a great lake of water" from which "the land lyeth north by East." Juet wrote: "We had a great streame out of the Bay. We saw high hills and anchored." The "great streame" was the river which perhaps more than any other in America has been called the River of Destiny —the river that was to bear his name. Hudson's reckoning showed him to be in latitude forty degrees thirty minutes north. How his heart must have throbbed. He had come into the range where he expected to find the elusive Northwest Passage.

Off to the right there was a roaring white surf line where the sea pounds the shore of present Coney Island. Hudson sent his small boat ahead to make soundings, and it is supposed it was Coney Island they first set foot upon. A good anchorage was found for the "Half Moon" with "foure and five fathoms two cables length from the shoare." The next day they "weighed and went in with our ship." Thus is described the entrance to the New York Harbor. They were promptly welcomed by savages, coming from shore in canoes, described by Juet as "the people of the Countrey" who were "seemingly glad of our coming and brought greene Tabacco and gave it to us for knives and beads."

"This is a very good land to fall with," the chronicler observed, "and a pleasant land to see." The natives "goe in deere skins, loose, well dressed . . . . desire cloaths and are very civill" but, he adds, "the master durst not trust them." The fears were evidently well grounded for after a trip ashore John Coleman and four others were attacked by two canoes of savages and Coleman was slain. He was buried, it is said, at Staten Island.

Two days later Hudson began the voyage up the river. The weather, which had been remarkably fair, continued so throughout



Cohoes Falls

their stay in the "river of the mountains," with but two dull or rainy days.

"At seven of the clocke in the morning as the floud came," wrote Juet, "we weighed and turned foure miles into the river. The tide being done, we anchored."

Past the Highlands they went on the fourteenth, the land being termed "very high and mountainous," and after that they ran into a more peaceful land. Two Indians they had seized in the lower river as hostages escaped through portholes, swimming away and "calling to us in scorne." But they were then among other mountains, the Catskills, and among Indians of a different sort.

"There we found a very loving people and very old men," wrote Juet, "where we were well used." On the sixteenth of September, Hudson anchored opposite Claverack Landing, the modern Hudson. Two days later he visited the Mahikan seat on the Hudson, where they were received "by an old savage, a Governour of the Country, who carried him to his home and made him good cheere." The accounts differ on the point, Juet stating the master's mate was the one who went ashore. But the navigator has left his own account of what happened:

"I sailed to the shore" [says the Hudson narrative (preserved by De Laet, Dutch historian of 1625)] "in one of their canoes, with an old man who was chief of a tribe consisting of forty men and seventeen women. These I saw there, in a house well constructed of oak bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being built with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize or Indian corn, and beans of the last year's growth; and there lay near the house, for the purpose of drying, enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields.

"On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon and some food was immediately served in well-made red wooden bowls. Two men were also dispatched at once with bows and arrows which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog and skinned it in great haste, with shells which they had got out of the water. They supposed I would remain with them for the night; but I returned, after a short time, on board the ship. The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon and it also abounds in trees of every description. These natives are a very good

people; for when they saw that I would not remain, they supposed that I was afraid of their bows; and taking their arrows they broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire."

Such was the courtesy of the aboriginal Mahikan, the Indians of Algonkin stock who peopled the river, to a strange navigator coming from another world. The account, the first recorded welcome to a white man by the natives of this region, is a priceless document. Brodhead says the Mahikan castle was between Schodack Landing and Castleton.

Hudson weighed anchor the next morning and "ran higher up" with wind and flood tide, "two leagues above the shoals." The anchor cable rattled out again, plunging this time into the soft ooze of what has since been called Albany Bay. It was September 19, 1609, a date which fixed the beginning of the history of the capital of New York State. For three days the little eighty-ton ship, sixty-three feet long, bobbed on the water while a small boat went north.

Van Meteren has recorded that the "Half Moon" sailed as far as forty-two degrees forty minutes north latitude, while the introduction to Juet's log as issued by Purchas states the vessel went "up the river neere to fortie three degrees." The forty-third parallel crosses the river just above Cohoes Falls, where the Mohawk pours into the Hudson. The city of Albany computes the latitude of its modern seaport as forty-two degrees thirty-nine minutes six seconds. Van Meteren's statement would place the "Half Moon's" anchorage at the north end of the city.

Hudson had now reached his historic impasse. The small boat was sent north along the swiftly narrowing river, interspersed with islands and rapidly shoaling—the route that now goes from Albany to Troy where the tidal influence runs out. That day the boat went up two leagues and returned. But the presence of the little ship had caused a great to-do among the natives. As the account goes, they planned on the twenty-first to send the small boat up the river sounding a second time, "but much people resorted aboard, so we went not this day."

Locations of the Indian fishing villages of the time have never been placed definitely, but the message that a strange visitor had arrived in a brightly painted ship—"the big fish"—spread for miles around. Undoubtedly there were villages on the Albany and Rensselaer shores as well as at the mouth of the Mohawk, where an island was named Moenominees Castle.

The ship's carpenter went ashore to make a foreyard and Captain Hudson and the mate put in the time entertaining the savages. Finding the warm friendship of the Mahikan difficult to believe after the savage conduct of the Lenapes at Manhattan and the lower river, Hudson determined to ply some of the chiefs with *aqua vitae* to learn "whether they had any treacherie in them."

"So they took them downe into the cabin," goes Juet's account, "and gave them so much wine and *aqua vitae* that they were all merrie; and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly as any of our country women would doe in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunke, which had been aboord of our ship all the time that we had beene there; and that was strange to them for they could not tell how to take it." The canoes and folk went ashore after some of the natives came and gave the most affected chief a string of beads "and he slept quietly."

The next morning, the natives returned anxiously to the ship and "when they saw the savages well they were glad." The experiment having proved a success, Captain Hudson and his men entered heartily into the entertainment of their guests, fearing no further danger. There was staged a farewell party beginning at three o'clock in the afternoon, with much giving of beaver, otter and other furs.

"They came aboord and brought Tabacco and more Beades and gave them to our Master and made an oration and showed him all the Countrey round about," relates the chronicler. "Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned and brought a great Platter full of venison, dressed by themselves; and they caused him to eate with them; then they made him reverence and departed, all save the old man that lay aboord."

That same night, the twenty-second, Hudson learned from his boat crew there was no further hope that this might be the path to Verrazano Sea and the wealth of the East. The decision, cruelly dashing his hopes, is told by Juet in these words:

> "This night, at ten of the clocke, our Boat returned in a showre of raine from sounding of the River; and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in. For they had been up eight or nine leagues, found but seven foot of water, and unconstant soundings."

It is supposed the rowboat went as far as Waterford. Whether the sounding party came upon the Cohoes Falls was not indicated. They may have noted it only as a barrier to westward navigation.

They did not realize that in coming to the Albany harbor they were at the location which would prove to be the gateway for the settlement and growth of an entire section of America; nor could they have in the least imagined that the pine-tufted hillside which rose at the west would one day be crowned with the capitol of a great and free State.

The next morning, September twenty-third, in "faire weather" which had returned again, the little ship bade adieu to the friendly natives at the navigation head. They made several stops down the river, at Catskill and other villages, where savages came out to greet them.

One of the Mahikan sachems from Schodack or Castleton followed them far down the river, anxious not to lose sight of the white visitor from afar, or the little ship, so gay with its brilliant-hued flags. The sachem kept beckoning for Hudson to return, but the navigator did not turn back. In the lower river, once more trouble occurred. An Indian attempted to steal some pillows from the captain's cabin and the cook cut off his hand with a sword. Off Spuyten Duyvil, four Indians were killed after showering the vessel with arrows. A hundred or more gathered at the shore, and Hudson turned a "falcon" on them. But in the midst of the excitement, the "Half Moon" crew did not fail to notice a mountain which looked green "as if some metall" were in it, and made other observations.

The voyage of exploration was over when on October fourth, as Juet says:

> "We weighed and came out of the River into which we had runne so farre. Within a while after we came out also of the great mouth of the great River that runneth up to the Northwest. . . . . Then we tooke in our Boat and set our mayne-sayle and sprit sayle, and our top-sayles and steered away East South-east and Southeast by East, off into the mayne sea. . . . . We continued our course toward England without seeing any land by the way, all the rest of this moneth of October; And on the seventh day of November, *stilo novo,* being Sunday; by the Grace of God we safely arrived in the Range of Dartmouth in Devonshire in the yeare 1609."

So ended the chronicle of the voyage which marks the beginning of the recorded history of New York State and the Capital Region. It has been given in some detail since, in many points, the account is

generally unfamiliar, and because of its significance as a guide to the events which followed. A careful reading of Hudson's voyage tends to clear up the mystery as to why the Dutch traders who followed made their first permanent stake at the north end of the river. Plentiful beaver and friendly natives aided in placing at Albany, as Fort Van Nassau, and in the Capital Region as the contiguous territory the pioneer development of New York State. It does not appear that Hudson gave any other name to the river he explored, except the "Great River." But as early as 1622 it was cited in English chronicles as "Hudson's River" and that name, though the Dutch designation "North River" still lingers, is the one by which it has gone into history.

The tragic sequel which cost Hudson's life when he was set adrift by a heartless crew in Hudson's Bay was a bitter turn of fate for the brave explorer. But as Brodhead said: "He had not indeed discovered for his employers the long-sought passage to the Eastern Seas; but he had led the way to the foundation of a mighty state."

And the Great River flows on, his endless memorial.

CHAPTER III

The Capital Region Goes on the Map

Hudson's Voyage Begins the Development of the Interior—Legend of Norumbega—Dutch, Leading Exponents of Independence from Tyranny—Trading Ventures to the River—Building of the First Ship—Christiaensen and Block Map the Hudson-Mohawk Region, Build Fort Van Nassau, at Albany, and Launch the Commercial Career of New York State—Famous Tawasentha Treaty of 1618.

The sturdy little ship with its bright flags that sailed down the Hudson, bobbing adieu to the "loving" Mahikans in that beautiful autumn of 1609, sailed straight into world history. The presence of a Dutch East India Company ship in a roadstead of the Western Hemisphere a week's journey (as it was then) inside the American continent, was to have an astonishing outcome. With this voyage began the settlement of New York and of the interior of the Colonies by a strong and tenacious people.

That Hudson's report of his exploration induced voyages from Holland in the years immediately ensuing established the unbroken continuity of this development. Neverthless, there has been some disposition to treat the "Half Moon" adventure as a single incident, interesting and colorful, but detached and unrelated to the main flow of American events. This treatment has been far of the mark, and the American story has suffered much on this account. The accounts of the pioneer landings in Virginia and Massachusetts have been repeated so often and have been viewed as so essential that few have been unaware of these notable events, but less emphasis has been placed on the significance of the pioneer voyage to the tidal head of the Hudson.

Proof of this is found in the fact that few New Yorkers recognize that the origin of their State ranks chronologically next only to that of Virginia, so early did it take its place on the American scene; nor are they generally familiar with the eventful rôle it performed of guarding the frontier on which the safety of all Colonial America

depended. Lately it is coming to be recognized, as a current writer has put it, that life in the southerly colonies was humdrum up to the Revolution, in comparison with the happenings in New York Colony, and the Capital Region in particular. The bald fact was that the coastal provinces from Massachusetts Bay to Virginia could never have attained their more rapid growth except for the alert guard in the north, and for the first 150 years, while settlement was gaining a foothold, the Capital Region performed that hard and self-sacrificing rôle. The plaints of Colonial Governors, appealing to other colonies to send reinforcements to the frontier as occasion demanded, and the references to Albany as the "dam" which, if it should break, would carry all the King's interest with it on the continent, supply ample evidence of the type of service required.

Likewise, it has been but little appreciated that Hudson, by going into the interior, supplied the first reliable information to the world as to what lay within the great wilderness. He was the first so far as any record goes to traverse the Hudson River, which became the main artery to the inland. The Indians had a legend that there had been Frenchmen on the site of Albany seventy years before Hudson put in an appearance, but efforts to trace the supposed building of a fort on Castle (Westerlo) Island to exploring "jacques" have been unproductive. Hudson's log book, as well as Juet's chronicle, therefore, rank as priceless Americana. Hudson's original record unfortunately was lost, but is partly preserved in De Laet's history.

Up to the time of Hudson's voyage, geographers had hit bravely into the dark in their interpretations of that corner of North America. Lacking definite information, they drew generously on their imaginations and located within the shoreline great rivers and winding mountain chains, even citadels and wilderness metropolises. Mercator's Map of 1569 and Locke's Map of 1582 identify the northeastern part of North America as "Norumbega." This was depicted as a large settlement, or city, bordering a long two-pronged river. Westward of this and extending along the shore in a north-south direction, Mercator drew a mountain chain, labeled "Appalchen." Westward of the mountains, he portrayed a vast land area. Locke abandoned the idea of a far-reaching plain and disposed of the problem by drawing a great ocean, just beyond the mountains, which he called "Marre de Verrazana"—the same Verrazano Sea which induced Hudson to try a westward passage. The more southerly part of both maps had the benefit of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese explorations and hence attain a degree of accuracy.

But except for the New England shore and the general outline of the St. Lawrence River, which Cartier had visited, the locale back of Cape Cod was a matter of guesswork. Many a researcher has tackled the problem of "Norumbega" without getting anywhere, some concluding that there was an ancient city or region of that name located on the Hudson, approximately at Albany, or on the Connecticut River, perhaps in the vicinity of Springfield, Massachusetts.



Rip Van Winkle Falls, Catskill Mountains

Others attribute the supposed location to some fiction of the Indians. In recent years the widespread occupation of eastern United States by the Algonkin tribes has been more definitely unfolded, but there is still no explanation of "Norumbega." Hudson's voyage lifted the veil on the valley of the "River of the Mountains" itself and the alert Dutchmen who followed him soon ventured into the neighboring woods.

The only regions which had been explored inside the continental shelf in that sector were the St. Lawrence, due to Cartier, and the Champlain Valley, so named by Samuel de Champlain when he came within one hundred miles of Albany in the summer of 1609. Cham-

plain had fired his famous shot, killing some Mohawk chiefs at Crown Point, only a few weeks before Hudson reached the tidewater head from the south. The shock of the natives at seeing the death-dealing qualities of Champlain's arquebus formed the basis of a narrative the French explorer proudly related to his sovereign. The contrast between Champlain's visit with a war party of Hurons, and that of Hudson, peaceably trading and dining with the native celebrities, had its commentary in subsequent events. Champlain's arquebus has long been referred to as the shot which broke the wilderness quiet and ranged the Iroquois forever against the French. However, it is just as probable that the Frenchman's 1615 expedition overland from the St. Lawrence to attack the Oneida village at Nichols Pond in central New York, home of the mighty Iroquois Confederacy, had even more to do with that long-lived hostility. But Champlain never reached the Hudson-Mohawk junction. The mapping of the Hudson River Valley and adjacent country was accomplished by courageous Dutch traders who followed Hudson's trail and thus gave to a bustling young Republic the glory of founding the first Dutch province in the New World.

The circumstances under which Hudson made his voyage also were significant. Holland was then an acknowledged Republic, declaring independence of Spanish oppression and proclaiming principles of political freedom in 1581. At that time, the States General, assembling at The Hague, asserted the revolutionary doctrine that "subjects are not created for the prince, but the prince for the subjects." Accordingly they voted to depose Philip of Spain from any hereditary right so far as they were concerned. Long and bitter warfare followed, which brought Spain to the verge of ruin, England aiding the Dutch cause. The contest had reached a truce in 1609. The suspension of hostilities was to last twelve years and the Dutch were on the winning end. As it turned out, the battle was renewed in 1621 (just when the Dutch West India Company was being organized to plant their first settlement at Albany) and continued until 1648, when Philip IV, in the Treaty of Munster, fully recognized the independent status and sovereignty of the Netherlands.

During this period, Dutch prosperity rose in spite of the wars. Its fleets managed to carry on a great trade, and the truce was taken advantage of to advance arts and crafts. The final stages of the war were not acute, the Dutch fleet scoring sweeping victories. Dutchmen came to stand for a high ideal of freedom, and their land quickly became the refuge of the oppressed in Europe. The period was one

in which flourished the great artists such as Rembrandt and Hobbima. The University of Leyden was recognized as the most famous educational center in Europe or England. Such scholars arose as Erasmus, Grotius, Spinoza. Historians included De Laet, Brandt and Van Meteren. The seas echoed the fame of the Dutch admirals Tromp, Heyn and De Ruyter. (Albany has a Van Tromp Street today.) It was Holland's golden era in which the New Netherlands was opened under the auspices of the traders who pursued Hudson's course. The Dutch East India Company itself, one of the early stock companies in Europe, had been formed in 1602, and sent its ships over the trade routes of the known world, while its privateers cheerfully raided the Spanish fleets. Exploration was just one of its activities. William Usselincx, one of the leading merchants of his time, had long urged the establishment of a West India trading company, with the American continent and West Indies in view. And it is likely that had the Dutch been less prosperous and less rushed with the immediate demands of trade, they would have turned all forces on the follow-up of Hudson's discovery.

As it was, private traders of Amsterdam and Hoorn picked up the account of Hudson's voyage from the Dutch members of the crew. Hudson and the ship were detained several months in Dartmouth after putting into that port on coming from America, a revelation of England's interest in voyages in that direction. Loyal to his Dutch employers, Hudson sent his log secretly to Amsterdam, and so the story came out. What Hudson told the English government does not appear, but it could not have been much since no attempt was made to pursue his findings and his own next voyage—the fatal one of 1610 that ended in the tragic death of himself, his young son and faithful followers, in the waste of Hudson's Bay—was once more on the Arctic route for the Northwest Passage, under English auspices.

In Holland, independent merchants seeing the Dutch East India Company barred from the land of Hudson's exploration, prepared to take advantage of his find. In permitting them to go, the Holland government evidently accepted the view that although lying within the territory claimed by Virginia in the patent from King James in 1606, the region visited by Hudson had been actually unoccupied and unpossessed, as Brodhead says, "by any Christian prince or people."

Fur trade offered a tempting bait for new adventuring since the only other large source of furs at the time was Russia, with which the Dutch had a lively commerce at Archangel. A ship was fitted out in 1610 at the risk of some Amsterdam merchants, and it is believed

carried part of the original "Half Moon" crew, including Hudson's Dutch mate, Van Campen, for the voyage to America. They were soon back among the savages whom they had met the year before and, as the account goes, "they were much rejoiced at seeing each other."

In 1611, Hendrick Christiaensen, of Cleeves, returning from a West Indies cruise, happened to pass by the Hudson River outlet on his way home and became interested in the country. He joined forces with another skipper, Adriaen Block, and made a voyage to the Hudson the same year. They brought back two savages, sons of chiefs, it was said, evidently thinking to stimulate interest in the new land. (This was an unfortunate gesture, leading to the assassination of Christiaensen in 1616 at Albany for a fancied wrong, possibly dating from the overseas trip.)

Thus experienced, however, Christiaensen and Block were able to attract a group of merchant supporters, one of whom was Hans Hongers, a director in the East India Company. Others were Paulus Pelgrom and Lambrecht Van Tweenhuysen, of Amsterdam. They obtained two vessels, the "Fortune" and "Tiger," in which they returned to the Mauritius, as the river had been named in honor of the stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Nassau. Both ships became famous in the New World. Other merchants sent out the "Little Fox" under Captain Jan De Wit; the "Nightingale" under Captain Thys Volckertsen, and the "Fortune" of Hoorn, under Captain Cornelis Jacobsen Mey. Mey or May is remembered for having named Cape May, New Jersey, and also became the first director of the Colony of New Netherland.

Block's ship, the "Tiger," burned in the winter of 1613-14 either at Manhattan or at Albany, and a new ship, the "Onrust," a tiny yacht of "8 lasts burden," was built to replace it. The implication that the ship burning occurred at Albany arises from the fact that Block and Christiaensen were then engaged in erecting the trading post which they listed on their famous map of 1614 as the sole center of habitation in the region.

It was in the "Onrust" that Block explored Long Island Sound in the spring of 1614 and discovered the island which bears his name. He apparently joined Christiaensen at Manhattan or other rendezvous and they returned to Holland in the "Fortune," leaving the "Onrust" in charge of subordinates to return to their outpost at the head of the Hudson. The fame of the latter vessel arises from the fact that it was undoubtedly the first built by white men in the State of New York.

On reaching Holland, Block conferred with a mapmaker, who produced the carefully drawn map of "Carte Figuratif" as it is referred to, on which the application of his associates for a three-year trading privilege was based. It is the first map on which a representation of the Hudson River as far as Albany appears. The mapped area extends westerly into the Indian country and east to the New England coast, including the Connecticut River and Long Island between the fortieth and forty-fifth parallels of latitude. The map was three feet long, drawn on parchment. It is considered a remarkable piece of draftsmanship for the times, indicating the notable familiarity of Block and Christiaensen with the region. Since it is the map on which the States General on October 11, 1614, issued their first charter for trade in the new land, which they officially named "New Netherland," it enjoys exceptional historic rank.

The map was found June 26, 1841, in the royal archives at The Hague, annexed to a supplemental memorial submitted by the New Netherland traders in 1616, asking for additional privileges under the *placaat* of 1614. Of it, Brodhead said:

> "It is one of the most interesting memorials we have. It . . . . shows very minutely the course of the Hudson River from Manhattan to above Albany, as well as a portion of the seacoast; and contains likewise curious notes and memoranda about the neighboring Indians, the work perhaps of one of the companions of Hudson . . . . made within five years of the discovery of our river, its fidelity of delineation is scarcely less remarkable than its high antiquity."

On an island at the lower end of the site of present Albany, the map locates Fort Van Nassau, the original trading post. Across the island of Manhattan is written the word "Manhates," referring to the Lenape Indian tribe who occupied it. No habitation is shown there, an omission that would not have been likely if any permanent structure had been erected. It is probable that trading huts had been placed on Manhattan, but it is evident from the emphasis given to the outpost at the upper end of the river, that the latter was the chief center of operations. The map identifies the Hudson as the "Riviere van den verst Mauritius," or river of the Prince Maurice; lists the "Mahicans" as occupying the central Hudson region and shows a portion of the Mohawk River, on a deep bend of which appears an Indian village with the legend "Maquaas," the first name applied to the Mohawks by the Dutch. A portion of the Delaware River is

shown, with native villages of "Senecas," "Gachoi," "Capitanasses" and "Minquaas" located in the vicinity, of which the Senecas and Mincees, at least, are readily identified. "Sandpunt" (the modern Sandy Hook) is shown at the entrance to New York Bay.

Notations on the parchment recorded the dimensions of Fort Van Nassau, also named in honor of the stadtholder of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. It was "fifty-eight feet wide between the walls in the quadrangle; the moat is eighteen feet wide," said the legend, in Dutch, "the house inside the fort is thirty-six feet long and twenty-six feet wide." The site was known thereafter among the natives as "Castle Island," in the Dutch, "Kasteeul Eylandt." For many years it was in the town of Bethlehem in Albany County, just south of the city line, but some years ago was annexed to the city. It has been known locally as Westerlo Island, today the site of Albany's modern ocean-ship docks.

The 1614 map was enlarged in 1616 to include data obtained by a Dutchman named Kleynties and two others who were sent to tour the back country. From Fort Orange they went up the Mohawk Valley, crossed southward along Otsego Lake to the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. They were taken prisoners on the Schuylkill, and ransomed by Hendrickson in the "Onrust" in 1616.

With Fort Van Nassau the commercial history of New York State formally begins. Despite the clarity with which it is set upon the pioneer map, and its dimensions recorded, Fort Van Nassau has somehow managed to escape general attention. Only lately has the State of New York identified the spot with an official marker honoring the two brave Dutch captains, Block and Christiaensen, who erected it. Their names occupy too small a place in the history of the State as it has been known. They were courageous, thorough-going explorers as well as traders, as is evident from the amount of data on the Carte Figuratif. Christiaensen, impressed with the immense natural richness of the region, is credited with having had a definite idea of instigating settlement and with being the prime mover in the construction of the original fort. For armament, the founders placed on its bastions two large guns and eleven swivel guns or pedereros. These they unloaded from their ship and dragged across the low-lying island to be mounted. The building within the fort stockade was a strongly built warehouse for furs as well as a place of defense.

In awarding exclusive trading privilege to Christiaensen and Block and their associates, on the "wild coast" of America between the fortieth and forty-fifth parallels, the twelve "high and mighty

lords" of the States General sat around the famous oval table in the Binnenhof, ancient inner court, or palace of the Counts of Holland, at The Hague. The Hague itself gets its name from an ancient hedge or "haeg," Brodhead states, enclosing what was once the hunting ground of Dutch royalty. It is recorded that presiding at the session at which the charter was granted was John van Olden Barneveldt, the now almost legendary Dutch hero.

The trading company was named the United New Netherland Company and its privileges made effective until January 1, 1618. The company of grantees, as listed in the ancient record, included: Gerrit Jacobsen Witsen, former burgomaster of Amsterdam; Jonas Witsen and Simon Monisen, owners of the ship "Little Fox," and Captain Jan De Wit; Hans Hongers, Paulus Pelgrom and Lambrecht van Tweenhuysen, owners of the "Tiger" and "Fortune," captained by Adriaen Block and Hendrick Christiaensen; Arnoudt van Lybergen, Wessel Schenck, Hans Claessen and Barent Sweetsen, merchants of Amsterdam; Pieter Clementsen Brouwer, Jan Clementsen Kies and Cornelis Volckertsen, merchants of Hoorn and owners of the ship "Fortune," whose captain was Cornelis Jacobsen May.

Mention has been made of the untimely death of Christiaensen, at Fort Van Nassau, two years after the founding, at the hands of an Indian he had taken to Holland. His death was avenged by a trader who shot the savage. Jacob Eelkens, second in command, then took over the post and continued there until 1622, when he was discharged from the company's service for kidnaping an Indian sachem on the Connecticut River. Eelkens, however, appeared to get along well with the savages and later returned to the river in command of an English trading ship, the "William," of London. His former colleagues from the Dutch fort broke up his trade and escorted him and his vessel down the river.

Freshets inundated the fort in 1617 and it was rebuilt on the banks of the Normanskill nearby. Trading continued there until the Dutch West India Company completed its plans for the settlement at Fort Orange, and officially took over the region. At or about 1618 occurred the famous Treaty of Tawasentha, which Brodhead in his noted "History of the State of New York" (1853), says was celebrated at the little fort beside the Normanskill, in what the Indians called the vale of Tawasentha. Brodhead quotes Moulton, Schoolcraft, Heckewelder and Morgan, all famous Indian authorities, on the event, which he describes as follows:

> "Besides the Mahicans (*sic*), the Mincees, the Minnisincks, and the Lenni-Lenapees were represented at this grand

council, which the Mohawks, who were the prime movers of the treaty, invited the other tribes to attend.

"Under the supervision of the Dutch, a general peace and alliance was negotiated; and the supremacy of the Five Confederated Nations was affirmed and acknowledged by the other tribes. The plenipotentiaries of the Iroquois were five chiefs, each representing his nation, and each bearing a hereditary name, which, nearly a century before, had distinguished the delegates who formed the grand confederation.

"The belt of peace was held fast at one end by the Iroquois, and at the other by the Dutch; while in the middle it rested on the shoulders of the subjugated Mahicans, Mincees and Lenni-Lenapees, as a nation of women. The calumet was smoked, and the tomahawk was buried in the earth, over which the Dutch declared they would erect a church, so that none should dig it up again without destroying the building and incurring their resentment."

Some authorities question the date of the ceremony, and appear to doubt the presence of the Five Nations there. However, Iroquois orators at subsequent treaty conferences in Albany referred constantly to the early "tree of friendship" that was planted in that community and placed the date before 1620. It is one of the remarkable facts of history that Fort Nassau, or as it was afterward known, Fort Orange and Albany, enjoyed Iroquois alliance on a firm basis over most of the Colonial period.

The original fort staked out the Hudson River region for the Dutch, and carried with it the Mohawk and contiguous localities. If the career of the settlements in the Hudson-Mohawk locale—our present Capital Region—differs from that of others in the East or South, it is because of the special perils of frontier life. Here was an outpost totally surrounded by savages, remote from the ocean. In the winter, when the river froze, it was wholly isolated in the howling wilderness. Yet it became widely famed. M. de Monsignat, Comptroller-General of Canada, in 1689 called Fort Orange the "Capital" of New York. Incidentally, the promise to build a church was kept, although not on the site of the treaty, but about two miles north of it, over two decades later. The church, whose existence was thus begun, is now the second oldest Dutch Reformed congregation in America.

CHAPTER IV

Who Were the First Settlers?

Pilgrims Plan to Settle on Hudson's River—Their Petition Refused, Dutch West India Company Invites Walloons to Go Instead—British Assert Claims to Hudson Region—"New Netherland" Sails With Thirty Walloon Families, 1624—Fort Orange Built for the Colony—Province Named "New Belgium"—First White Child, Sarah De Rapello, Born at Albany—Van Krieckebeeck is Slain—Settlement of Five States Begun.

The train of events that followed the erection of Fort Van Nassau in 1614 at the site of Albany was far-reaching indeed. The fort clearly fixed the Dutch claim to the region not only by discovery but by occupancy, making it the first permanent Dutch establishment in the New World. More than that, it marked the beginning of other Dutch moves to create a domain which would rival the famous English Colony in Virginia. In the next few years the Dutch began the settlement of four other states—New Jersey, Connecticut, Delaware and Pennsylvania—and laid elaborate plans for colonizing.

These plans soon ran counter to English claims and started a lively clash with Puritan settlers after the Plymouth Colony arrived. The manner of settlement, too, was extraordinary, reflecting the unusual influences that were abroad in the world. The period was one of extreme adventure on the high seas, of pillaging wars in Europe, marked by persecutions which had only served to whet the aims and strengthen the characters of the oppressed groups.

Such were the Pilgrims, who very nearly became the first colonists on the Hudson River; such were the Walloons, Protestant Belgians, who did become the pioneer colonists of Dutch America, bringing their skill and courage to the tidal headwaters of the Hudson and laying the foundation of an immense tradition.

The Dutch West India Company itself was one of the leading mercantile establishments of the age. Formed in 1621, with a capital of $2,800,000, it possessed vast powers delegated by the States

General of Holland for trading in the Atlantic and Pacific and "on the barbaric coasts of Africa and America." It could build merchant fleets and men-o'-war, erect forts, maintain its own soldiers and administrative officials, raid the seas (especially in pursuit of the Spanish silver fleet) and "promote the populating of Dutch and uninhabited regions."

William Usselincx, of Antwerp, had sought since 1607 the organization of a company for American trade, but his aims were toward long-term rewards, which only colonizing could bring. Unfortunately,



The Boiling Pot, Canajoharie

the Dutch West India Company was drawn on too large a scale, and its interests too diverse. It had difficulty concentrating on settlement, with such rich rewards immediately to be had in the high seas trade. It arranged for the settlement of Guiana, in South America, referred to as the "Wild Coast," and then turned its attention to the Hudson River. The initial settlements were made under its banner—a Dutch orange, white and blue flag with the initials "GOC" (Geoctroyeerde

Westindische Compagnie) in the center of the field. The organization was completed in 1623, but in 1622 ships were dispatched to Fort Van Nassau to "take possession" (and warn other traders away).

Had the organization of the West India Company proceeded more rapidly, or international politics been less involved, the Pilgrim settlement likely would have come to the Hudson River. Since the location of Fort Van Nassau by Block and Christiaensen there had been much discussion in Holland of the wonders of the New World. As ships returned from voyages with beaver and otter furs, and stories of immense forests, rich with game and of rivers flowing with fish, the more adventurous became deeply interested. The Pilgrims, who had been in Holland a dozen years, in February, 1620, petitioned Prince Maurice to allow them to settle in the vicinity of the Hudson. The New Netherland Company, founders of Fort Van Nassau, offered to carry them free overseas to settle in the region.

But the twelve-year truce with Spain was about to expire, and the United Provinces had to consider the domestic situation. England had befriended the Dutch in their fight for freedom and might again prove a valuable ally against Spain. And it so happened that England was renewing its claims to North America, in view of the voyages of the Cabots and the Virginia settlement. During the spring of 1620 an English captain, Dermer, en route from Virginia, called at Manhattan and warned the Dutch traders there that they were trespassing on territory claimed by the English Crown. This had little effect on them, since the limits of New Netherland when first defined by the States General extended from the fortieth to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, from Virginia to Canada. The Virginia Patent, under which the Puritans finally emigrated to Plymouth, extended only as far north as the fortieth parallel, and westward to the Pacific. King James was already hinting of a new patent for a more northerly settlement than Virginia when the Dutch government rejected the Pilgrim petition. The Puritans accordingly made the arrangements to sail under English auspices. There is still repeated a curious story that the "Mayflower" passed Cape Cod and was heading for a seemingly clandestine landing spot "about Hudson's River," when severe tides and winds turned them back to Provincetown and Plymouth. This tradition, which has continued to lack substantiation, has it that Captain Jones of the "Mayflower" had been warned by the Dutch not to carry the Englishmen into New Netherland. A week before the "Mayflower" arrived at Cape Cod, King James issued the New England Patent granting to the council at

Plymouth all territory in America between the fortieth and forty-eighth degree of latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific—a sea to sea charter which has echoed down to modern times, and which soon enough caused complications for the New England and New Netherland settlers.

As has been indicated, the New England patent carried immense powers. If it had been faithfully followed, not a ship could sail into a harbor from Newfoundland to Philadelphia, not a skin could be purchased in the interior, not a fish could be caught on the coast and not an emigrant might tread the soil except with the permission of the Council of Plymouth. The flaw in the patent claims lay in the definitely recorded voyage of Dermer, as published by Purchas, which revealed plainly enough that the Dutch were already occupying the Hudson in early 1620, before the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth and before the King had promulgated his new claim extending sovereignty to the forty-eighth parallel. After issuing the new patent, James instructed his Ambassador to notify the Dutch, but the States General delayed a reply indefinitely, and thus ignored the pretensions. It remained for Charles II, twenty-four years later, to issue the astonishing patent giving the whole of New Netherland to the Duke of York.

At the time of the James patent, however, the Hollanders declined to be annoyed. The West India Company soon was piling up tremendous earnings with its activities in trade and on the Spanish Main and the Netherlands was enjoying marked prosperity. In planning the colonization of the Hudson River region, the West India Company soon became interested in the Walloons. These French-speaking people, of ancient Gallic stock, had been subjected to Spanish persecution in 1580 and driven from their homes in the Belgic provinces of Hainault, Namur, Liège and Luxemburg, finding refuge in Holland.

Their situation was just the reverse of that of the Pilgrims. While the Pilgrims had first sought to emigrate under Dutch auspices, the Walloons through their noted leader Jesse De Forest, had applied to King James to settle in Virginia. The terms offered, however, were not satisfactory and they were still considering what to do when the West India Company sought them out. The Walloons were promised transportation and farm supplies and a group of thirty families, 110 persons, made up the first contingent.

While the ship "New Netherland" was being fitted for the voyage, the West India Company settled the details of the formal organi-

zation of the region. The rather indefinite territory was erected as a province honored by the States General, as Brodhead says, "with a grant of the armorial distinction of a count." The province was named "Novi Belgii" or "New Belgium," and a seal struck off which bore the imprint of a beaver surmounted by a coronet, thus typifying the fur trade on which the settlement was to rely so largely for existence. The name "New Belgium" was undoubtedly in compliment to the Walloons as the first settlers—a point which seems to have attracted little attention. Undoubtedly there were Dutch among the pioneer band. The commander of the ship, Captain Cornelis Jacobsen May, was from Hoorn, as we have noted, and there were Dutch soldiers in the company who went along to build the fort and conduct the beaver trade. But the families were nearly all Walloons. The "New Netherland," a 260-ton ship, left Amsterdam in March, sailing a roundabout course from the Canary Islands toward Guiana and the Carribees, then north between the Bahamas and Bermuda to New York Bay. Large colonies of Walloons had been settled in 1621 in Guiana. Stops were frequently made by Dutch vessels following that course to fish in the West Indies.

The early account of the voyage as given by Wassenaer, says:

> "The West India Company being chartered to navigate these rivers did not neglect to do so, but equipped in the spring (of 1624) a vessel of 130 lasts, called the 'New Netherland,' where of Cornelis Jacobsen May of Hoorn (is master), with 30 families, mostly Walloons, to plant a colony there. They sailed in the beginning of March and directing their course by the Canary Islands, steered toward the Wild Coast (Guiana) and gained the west wind which luckily took them in the beginning of May into the river first called Rio de Montagnes, now the river Mauritius, lying in 40½ degrees.
>
> "He found a Frenchman lying in the mouth of the river, who would erect the arms of the king of France there; but the Hollanders would not permit him, opposing it by the commission from the Lords States General and the directors of the West India Company; and in order not to be frustrated therein, with the assistance of those of the 'Mackerel,' which lay above, they caused a yacht of two guns to be manned and convoyed the Frenchman out of the river."

It appears the "Frenchman" was a ship named the "Dauphin," which after being driven out of New York Bay, went to the Delaware

Bay, where some Dutch traders were, and threatened them. This appears to have been the last attempt by the French to claim the Atlantic coastal territory prior to the Colonial wars which were to shake the wilderness. Thus early, however, it appeared that the Dutch were not going to be allowed peaceable possession of their fair region for long.

The Walloons and Dutch on the deck of the "New Netherland" must have felt relieved at seeing the French intruder chased out of the bay by the armed yacht "Mackerel." The "Mackerel" was their escort up the lordly river. It had preceded them to the New World to make preparations for the settlement, and it is believed soldiers from this vessel were the ones who began the construction of Fort Orange. Some of the accounts say the fort was completed after the arrival of the band of settlers. A site two miles north of Fort Van Nassau had been selected, on higher ground, for the new fort and colony. Fort Van Nassau too often had been inundated by spring floods which until the past decade often washed the streets and stores of the lower part of the city.

Fort Orange, the name given the new redoubt, had "four angles" and mounted nine guns. Within was a house for officers, barracks for the soldiers and warehouse for the furs brought to the West India Company factor. Early descriptions of the site, now at the riverside in the heart of the modern city, speak of the alluvial plain along which the settlers built their bark hut homes, with the pine-tufted hillside rising at the west (the hill now crowned with the Capitol of the Empire State). Several "kills" or creeks ran down the hillsides to the river, above and below the fort.

With what wonder must the Walloons have looked abroad on the strange, fascinatingly beautiful country to which they had come! How fearful they must have been at the sight of the dark-skinned savages, feathers in their hair, naked bodies partly covered with doeskin, the women with long kirtles elaborately embroidered with beads; at their guttural speech; at their murderous clubs, hatchets and bows and arrows.

To have come from comfortable homes in prosperous Amsterdam to this, 150 miles inward from the sea, with none to aid them if a savage reign of terror broke loose! That indeed required courage. Captain May, as the first director of the Province, took charge of moving the goods ashore, locating the houses and there was soon a busy scene as ground was cleared of vines and underbrush. The simple first houses were only of bark, hung on wooden frames, with stone

chimneys and roofs of thatch. There was too much to be done to build elaborate homes just then. There had been Indian cornfields on the plain, and the savages obligingly showed the settlers how the planting should go. Wheat was sown in time to get a first crop before the ship "New Netherland" sailed for Holland in the fall with the furs that Indian trade had brought in.

The work of building the settlement appeared to progress without serious difficulty. In marked contrast with the experience of the Englishmen in Jamestown and the Pilgrims in Plymouth, the savages were friendly and tractable. The Colony benefited greatly by the ten years of trading that had gone before, and the alliance with the natives at the Treaty of Tawasentha.

That the Dutch were prompt to carry over the old friendship to the new Colony was evident from the statement of Caterina Tricot, a Walloon settler who came to Fort Orange on the first ship with her husband Joris de Rapalje. In the deposition made in 1688 she recounted the voyage to the new land.

> "There were about eighteen families aboard who settled themselves att Albany & made a small fort" [she wrote] "and as soon as they had built themselves some hutts of Bark ye Mahikanders or River Indians, ye Maquase, Oneydes, Onnondages, Cayougas & Sinnekes, with ye Mahawawa or Ottawawawaes Indians came & made Covenants of friendship with ye sd Arien Jorise there Commander Bringing him great Presents of Bever or oyr Peltry & desyred that they might come & have a Constant free Trade with them wch was concluded upon & ye sd nations come dayly with great multidus of Bever & traded them with ye Christians."

It is thus apparent that Adriaen Jorise, the second in command, after the departure of Captain May for the homeland that fall, arranged a new treaty almost as widely attended as the one of 1618 at the banks of the Normanskill. The assembly of the Five Nations and River Indians with the Ottawas revealed not only a prevailing peace between the tribes in the region, but a vast curiosity on the part of the savages to see who had come to their land and for what purpose. Even though the settlers built homes, and planted crops, the natives seem to have regarded the Colony as a trading project only. It may have been to avert native suspicion that no apparent attempt was made to barter with the savages for a deed to the land, later the required practice for all Dutch holdings in the Province. In years

following, when the point of land purchase was raised by the Patroon Van Rensselaer, who sought control of Fort Orange, the Dutch West India Company asserted the settlement had been made with consent of the savages, and occupancy had established the right to possess. No deed, at any rate, was ever produced, and similarly, none exists for Manhattan Island, although Minuit chronicled the purchase of twenty-two thousand acres of land there in 1626 for $24 in Indian goods. It is possible a similar process was followed at Fort Orange.

At any rate, the Colony quickly became well established, and in letters sent home on the "New Netherland," the Walloons offered no complaint, so far as records show. Baudartius quotes a letter from one of the colonists published in Amsterdam, and no doubt intended to aid the West India Company's plans for enlarging emigration.

> "We were greatly surprised when we arrived in this country" [wrote one]. "Here we found beautiful rivers, bubbling fountains flowing down the valley; basins of running waters in the flatlands, agreeable fruits in the woods, such as strawberries, pigeon berries, walnuts and wild grapes. The woods abound with acorns for feeding hogs and with venison. There is considerable fish in the rivers; good tillage land. Here is free coming and going, without fear of the naked savages of the country. Had we cows, hogs and other cattle for food (which are daily expected by the first ships) we would not wish to return to Holland, for whatever we desire in the paradise of Holland is here to be found. If you will come hither with your family, you will not regret it."

The cows, hogs and other cattle did come over in 1625, shipped carefully on vessels appropriately named the Dutch equivalents of "Cow," "Horse" and "Sheep." Nothing better illustrates the care of the Dutch skippers in handling a valuable cargo than this voyage. On two ships were loaded 103 head of cattle, including swine, sheep, cows, horses and breeding animals.

> "Each beast" [says Wassenaer] "had its own separate stall arranged upon a flooring of sand three feet deep, which was laid upon a deck specially constructed in the vessel. Under this deck each ship carried three hundred tuns of fresh water for the use of the cattle. Hay and straw were provided in abundance for the voyage; and all kinds of seeds and plows and other farming implements were sent on board for the use of the colony."

A third ship was sent along as escort, and the three vessels carried forty-five new settlers besides several "free emigrants" who were not in service to the West India Company. So successful was the voyage that only two of the cattle died on the way over. The animals were put ashore on Governor's Island, where they munched the rich grass of the virgin continent, and afterwards were distributed, some to Fort Orange and others to Brooklyn and other southerly settlements.

Caterina Tricot has recorded that besides placing eighteen families, about forty persons, at Albany, the first ship left eight men at Manhattan to "take possession" and two families and six soldiers were sent to the "Harford River" (the Connecticut) where, in 1633, the Dutch built the Fort Good Hope. A few months after the landing at Fort Orange, four couples of newly married Walloons were sent to the Delaware River, where they made a settlement about four miles below present Philadelphia.

When Peter Minuit arrived, in 1625, as the new director of the Province, he located a settlement in Brooklyn, afterwards moving to Manhattan, where Cryn Frederick, an engineer, erected Fort Amsterdam in 1626. Minuit (his name is translated Midnight) was a Walloon, as was Frederick.

At Fort Orange, on June 9, 1625, occurred the birth of Sarah Rapalje, the first white child born in New York State. Her parents moved to Brooklyn the following year. They have gone into history as George and Catelyn (Tricot) Rapalje, the latter being a Dutch form of the family name "De Rapello." In 1626 there was an Indian outbreak at Fort Orange, in which the Mahikans enlisted the aid of Daniel van Krieckebeeck, commander of the Dutch post, in an attack on the Mohawks. Van Krieckebeeck foolishly went out with the party and a few Dutch soldiers, and several miles in the woods encountered the Mohawks. The commander with three of his men were slain by the flight of arrows. One of the soldiers, Tymen Bowensen, as the ancient record goes, was "eaten by the savages after he had been well roasted." A leg and an arm of the slain were taken proudly home by the Mohawks to exhibit at their cabins as trophies of the fight. One of the soldiers who escaped, a Portuguese, was shot in the back with an arrow while swimming for his life.

The incident raised fears that the savages might retaliate on the inhabitants of the fort colony. Peter Barentsen, chief factor of the West India Company, arrived in time to calm the savages, who could not understand the breaking of friendship by the white commander.



"The Nose," John Boyd Thacher Park, Twenty Minutes' Motor Run from Albany

Most of the settlers were removed to Fort Amsterdam until the danger was safely passed, when a number of them returned.

Among those who left were the Rapaljes. They joined the Colony in Brooklyn at "Walloon Boght," or bend, better known as Wallabout Bay, a title it has retained, and which is one of the few memorials of the pioneers. The next large settlement at the upper end of the Hudson was made by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, Amsterdam diamond merchant, in 1630. Under the special charter granted by the West India Company permitting private individuals to settle large tracts, Michael Pauw in the same year initiated the settlement of Pavonia, now Jersey City. Samuel Godyn, also a director of the West India Company, sent colonists to Swanandael, near Lewiston, Delaware, the year following. In this manner the Dutch pioneered the settlement of five states. Of the patroonships the most famous was that at Rensselaerwyck, which was also the largest, occupying a vast area in Albany, Rensselaer and Columbia counties. Vestiges of the estate remain today. These were mainly Dutch colonists, although there was a scattering of nationalities among them. Sturdy and valorous stock they proved to be under the rigors of the frontier.

The pioneer Walloon settlement at Fort Orange served as a key to the cosmopolitan development that has been a mark of the region, in spite of the predominant influence of the Dutch over a great part of its existence. Here, too, was evidence of toleration for which the State of New York has been distinguished. The Walloons were highly valued as colonists. The West India Company felt it would be "very advantageous" if they could be secured to settle in the new lands. In support of this was their long career of duration under hardship. They had been subjected to many cruelties from the Spanish persecutions. They had been driven from their homes and were self-reliant in the extreme.

The name Walloon is supposed to have been derived from the Dutch name "Waalsche," by which they were known, apparently stemming from the original name of the people "Gallois." Historically the people were known in Cæsar's time and praised by him for their fortitude. In their refuge in Holland, whence they had fled after the Spanish dispersion, which drove over one million of them from their homes, they learned the spirit of liberty as typified in Holland's own struggles to achieve independence. Brodhead says it was "to the Walloons that the Dutch were probably indebted for much of the repute which they gained as a nation in many branches of manufacture." In New Netherland they became absorbed into the Dutch

régime. Even the name "New Belgium" was soon lost from the Province. Yet their characteristics of courage and industry became welded into the framework of the State which finally evolved, and today in the Capital Region can still be found descendants of those who first tilled the soil of Fort Orange.

CHAPTER V

The Van Rensselaer Colonie: Feudalism in the Wilderness

Ideas of Old and New Worlds Collide on the Hudson—West India Company Seeks More Settlers—Patroonships Created—Kiliaen Van Rensselaer Buys Seven Hundred Thousand Acres in Albany, Rensselaer and Columbia Counties—Settlers Arrive—Meaning of the Patroon System, Rights and Privileges—Obligations of Settlers—Amended Charter of Privileges and Exemptions Creates Free Colonists—The Famous Leases "In Perpetuity"—Free Trade Begins.

The assumption sometimes made that American liberty came suddenly into being as a result of special oppression by the British Crown runs into serious entanglements when subjected to analysis. An era of Colonial development preceded the Declaration of Independence. During that time, for 150 years, the conditions of the New World were guiding the destinies of men. The events of that introductory period reveal unmistakably, sometimes more definitely than others, a gradual progression toward the lofty ideal of freedom which Americans have come to enjoy to a greater extent than any other people.

This evolution betokened a long, often painful and sacrificial process, as hardly earned experience was won under unique circumstances. One of the anomalous disclosures of a review of that epochal period is that although settlements had been planted in a virgin continent where all things were new and the land offered its vast far-flung resources, beautifully unfettered and free, it was still necessary step by step to throw off the Old World conceptions that had enmeshed the limbs of progress for centuries.

The collision between the old and new ideas occurred under many circumstances and in many places among the colonies that grew up along the Atlantic coastal shelf and adjacent regions. In each instance, the clash made men stronger, more alert and more conscious of the higher hopes of mankind, until as the drama moved

toward its climax there were found to be legions of minds functioning alike toward the same inspiring objective. The long preliminary, formative work had been the yeast of the New World. There followed, as logically as day follows night, the stunning achievement of a free nation, the full humanitarian values of which we are perhaps only now beginning to appreciate.

It is the singular mark of the Capital Region that the wilderness had scarcely been trod before there began, upon the territory of three of its present counties—Albany, Rensselaer and part of Columbia—a conflict which involved one of the most stubborn of Old World conceptions—the institution of feudalism.

Scarcely had the echoes of the Walloon settlement at Fort Orange reached Europe than there began to shape in the minds of the directors of the Dutch West India Company a plan for a long term development of the new region. Their first objective admittedly had been to establish trade in furs, with less emphasis on agricultural colonization. The families of Walloons who had been sent to Fort Orange, it is true, had been outfitted as farmers, but the lack of land purchases in the area adjacent to the fort was a fair indication that the company, while they expected the settlers to raise enough crops to support themselves and give stability to the region, aimed mainly at lively barter with the savages.

The Mahikan-Mohawk War of 1626, which caused some of the colonists to be withdrawn to Manhattan, continued intermittently until in 1628 the Mahikan were driven to the east side of the Hudson. The skirmishes have been variously placed at Rogers' Island, near Catskill, and opposite Fort Orange in the modern city of Rensselaer. The Mahikan were not ready to sell their lands about the Hudson River in 1624 when Fort Orange was established, but were quite ready to do so in 1629, the year in which the States General of Holland ratified the Charter of Privileges and Exemptions proposed by the West India Company, under which the Patroonships were created, and having provisions for settlements by master colonists and free settlers besides.

Thus, five years from the planting of Fort Orange in the forest region, a new set of conditions had been created. The original group of settlers had thinned down to a few families, in addition to the twenty-four regular traders stationed there. The Mohawk clashes had served to make the Mahikan more tractable and the land (as has been conceded by nearly everyone since Henry Hudson's time) was exceedingly inviting. The Mahikan still hovered about the river

banks, the Mohawks having retired to their castles forty miles and more to the west in the Iroquois country. It may have occurred to the Mahikan chiefs that settlement by the friendly Dutchmen might be a boon and future protection to them from Mohawk intimidation. It was true also that the grip of the Mahikan on the lands had become precarious.

The timing at any rate seems to have been propitious. Sebastian Jansen Krol, commissary at Fort Orange, obeyed with alacrity when instructed by letter to buy for the account of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the noted pearl merchant of Amsterdam, a huge territory from the native chieftains at the best terms available. Van Rensselaer, himself a director of the West India Company, and one of its most influential members, seems to have been one of the active advocates of the patroon system of colonization. No sooner had the charter been shaped, than he put in his application for authority to acquire a vast American tract on which to settle an agricultural community and for which, as was provided, he asked feudal powers, with all the privileges and perquisites that implied. His application was the first received and the first approved, and as it turned out, Van Rensselaer had the distinction of founding the largest and most successful patroonship in the New World.

Krol, who arranged the original purchase of the territory which became famed as the "Colonie," later Manor of Rensselaerwyck, was himself somewhat of a personage. He had been an assistant to Minuit in getting Fort Amsterdam launched on its career in 1625 and for a brief time was acting director of the new Province of New Netherland. He had charge of Fort Orange with the titles of vice-director of the province and commissary. But his greatest claim on posterity is his reputed invention of the "kroller," our "cruller" of today.

The first land purchase was effected from the savages by Krol with the assistance of Dirk Duyster, under commissary of Fort Orange. It conveyed to Van Rensselaer a tract called Sanckhagag, on the west side of the Hudson from Beeren Island, called Passapenock by the Indians, to Smacks Island several miles north, and in breadth "two day's journey inland." Three months later, Gillis Hossett, acting on Van Rensselaer's orders, purchased "in the presence of Jansen Myndertsen, Wolfert Gerritsen and Jan Tyssen," the latter the Fort Orange trumpeter, lands lying north and south of Fort Orange, extending within a short distance of Moenominees Castle, then on the present Poeble's Island, one of the "sprouts" of the Mohawk where it

empties into the Hudson. They also acquired from one of the chiefs, Nawunemit, his personal grounds called Semesseeck, stretching on the east side of the river from opposite Castle Island (where Fort Van Nassau had been built) to a point opposite Fort Orange and thence from Poetenock (Mill Creek) north to a locality called Negagonse.

Beeren Island ("Beeren" is Dutch for "Bear") is remembered as a popular picnicking place of the 'nineties, twelve miles south of Albany. Traditionally it was the home of Chief Aepjen, a Mahikan leader, and also a point where the aborigines exchanged or obtained wampum, their native currency. The territory of Semesseeck, being in Chief Nawunemit's name, has been considered evidence of a former Indian village on the site of the modern city of Rensselaer, though it may have been the chief's private fishing grounds. Moenominees Castle was a Mahikan fishing village and according to legend had several buildings. The name means "Lookout," and the site was ranked the northern boundary of the Mahikan, or River Indians. Undoubtedly these native villagers greeted Henry Hudson's boat crew exploring their way past the rapids at Troy, where the tide ended, to the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson at Cohoes.

The three deeds, obtained no doubt in the conventional manner of barter with possibly a pot of rum to top it off, were ratified on April 18, 1630, at Fort Amsterdam in the presence of the Director-General and Council of the Province, and the sellers, the Mahikan chiefs Nawunemit, Kottamack, Abantzeene and Sagiskwa. The price paid unfortunately was not disclosed, thus depriving the Capital Region of a rare story of pioneer private land purchase. The Indian goods awarded to the savages seem to have been quite sufficient, since they never came back for additional funds, nor sought to reassert a claim to the soil. The conveyance bears the rare signature of Peter Minuit and was "sealed with the seal of New Netherland in red wax." This was the noted beaver-and-coronet seal first adopted for the Province. The date of the deed was the same as that on which the Charter of Privileges and Exemptions was proclaimed by the trumpeter from the bastions of Fort Amsterdam, thus signalling to the New World that an experiment in feudalism had begun. Nearly seven years afterward, on April 13, 1637, all the intervening district on the east side of the river, called Papsickenekaas, or Papscanee, as it is known today, was acquired by the patroon "for certain quantities of duffels, axes, knives and wampum." It extended from a point opposite Fort Orange to a point opposite Smacks Island, including the adjacent islands, and going back into the interior.

In this systematic and orderly fashion, while sitting in his counting house at Amsterdam, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer at long range through his agents put together piece by piece the vast manor twenty-four miles long by forty-eight miles wide, divided by the Hudson River running through it north and south, and extending from the present Massachusetts line on the east to the far side of the Helderberg Mountains on the west. From Beeren Island on the south it went north to include part of Cohoes. In Albany and Rensselaer counties and middle Columbia County, as they have since become, the patroon obtained possession of seven hundred thousand acres of some of the loveliest and most fertile land the New World could offer. The one hundred and seventy thousand acres in Columbia County, forming what was known as the Claverack or Lower Manor, were purchased in 1649.

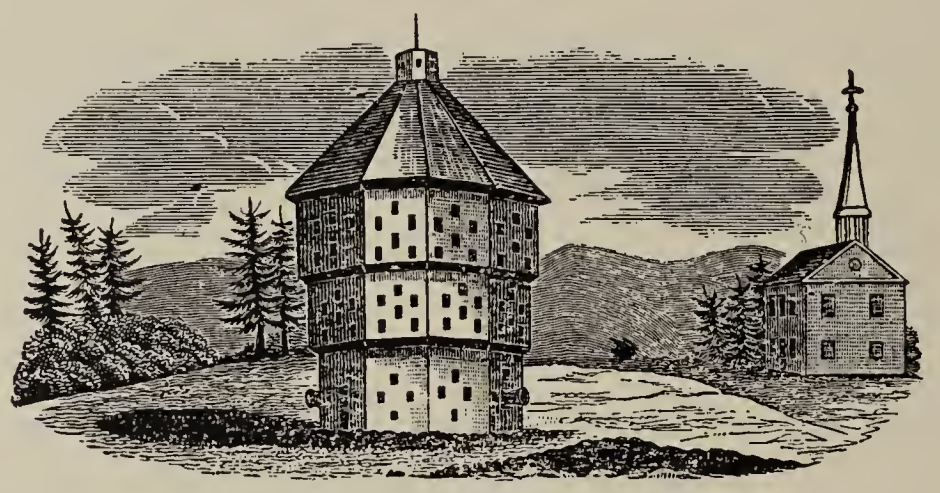
Having placed such a stake in the virgin continent, the wonder is that the first patroon never saw his regal estate. He had it mapped, gave his personal attention to laying it out in great detail, selecting the sites for the buildings, the church, the brewery, the gristmill, and other facilities of the "colonie." The feudal honors he received as "lord" were applicable only on the Hudson, apparently conferring no noble title at home, though his partners in the enterprise pledged their allegiance to him. Those of his descendants who made the voyage overseas to assume direction of the famed "Colonie Van Rensselaerswyck" ("wyck" being the Dutch word for "place" or "manor") were addressed as "My lord patroon." The patroon at first had an armorial shield, his own flag, his own courts and soldiers—and the colonists took an oath of allegiance to him through his representatives. And it was provided as a further evidence of the feudal organization that on any change of ownership, such as hereditary descent, the patroon should present to the West India Company a pair of iron gauntlets "as a recognition."

Kiliaen Van Rensselaer had made himself, indeed, a "prince" of the Hudson. In this realm, with powers conferred upon him, he might have established another Lichtenstein. The land was a virtual paradise, located in a strategic and remote corner of the New World. It was among friendly Mahikan tribesmen, and in contact as well with the Iroquois, whose castles were three days' journey westward. Watering the estate was the lordly Hudson, which flowed as a tidal stream on which ships of the ocean could ply to far lands. The great river as well as the many tributary "kills" or creeks were overrun with fish. Waterfalls produced abundant power for his mills. The for-

est teemed with game and birds. The trees themselves rising as straight giants, nearly one hundred feet high, afforded some of the finest timber in the world. What a land of plenty in which a Holland merchant prince might indulge his taste!

And what was to be done with it?

Upon the answer depended the course of history for many generations. The Charter of Privileges and Exemptions turned a page indeed! The patroon's first settlers, ten in number, sailed from Amsterdam, Holland, March 21, 1630, in the ship "Eendracht" ("Unity") commanded by Skipper Jan Brouwer. They arrived at Fort Amsterdam on May twenty-fourth and ascended to Fort Orange, where Commander Krol sent the settlers to the lands purchased from the savages. Wolfert Gerritsen, appointed patroon's *opperbouwmeester,* or farm superintendent, allotted the farms, and supplied



Ancient Blockhouse, Fort Plain

them with implements and live stock from the ship. Each year thereafter, the Colony received more settlers, mostly from "Patria," as the homeland was called, but with a scattering of other nationalities. From them sprang some of the most noted families in America, identified with progress at each stage of the country's evolution from wilderness to the present. Not the least notable were the Van Rensselaers themselves, who not only changed their loyalty from Dutch to English in 1664, but in 1776 changed from Englishmen to Patriots. Nineteen of them served in the Revolution. Some were at the battle of Saratoga with the Rensselaerwyck Battalion, composed of troops recruited on the still feudal soil of the "colonie."

The aims of the first patroon were typified in his policy, expressed to the West India Company, when he said: "Open up the country with agriculture." That he saw the wisdom of permanent coloniza-

tion as the basis for future Dutch expansion is undisputed. That he did not choose to exercise personally the many prerogatives assigned to him by the feudal status throws some light upon his character. It was evident from what followed that he did not become the patroon of Rensselaerwyck for the sake of honors. The probability is that he already had enough of these at home, since he was prominent in public affairs, as well as charities, and was the owner of several estates. What he was interested in was the development of a colony that would stand on its own feet. Becoming self-supporting, it would be an asset, both to him and to patria. Hence it is rather as a great landed proprietor, shipper and merchant that we find Van Rensselaer supervising the affairs of the "colonie" from his office at Amsterdam. It is one of the conspicuous marks of the family that the tenantry were well treated and the patroons never sought more than they believed to be their just rights under the powers conferred.

It was the perpetual leasehold and the iniquitous provisions for "quarter sales" that eventually led to the anti-rent wars and the political upheavals that broke the ancient grip of the Charter of Privileges and Exemptions. This battle continued down to the 1870s and it is said there are still a few leases which have not been commuted and pay their fees to the manorial estate. Feudal tenures have been exceedingly rare in America; nowhere was such an area covered with them as in Albany, Rensselaer and Columbia counties. The battle to break the leaseholds lasted nearly three centuries. It was an amazing anachronism in a free America, and yet forms a tribute to the ability of Dutchmen to devise a legal instrument so ironclad as to survive every assault upon it. In the end the laws of a free nation had to be altered to eliminate perpetual leases as a blockade to the march of progress.

The reasons for the adoption of a feudal plan of settlement, though so illy suited to the new land, were not illogical in 1629. The direction of foreign affairs in those days was largely placed in the hands of merchant groups such as the Dutch West India Company, an organization which, as Bancroft says, was "given leave to appropriate continents" and "when invested with a boundless liberty of choice culled the rich territories of Guiana, Brazil and New Netherland." This was the company which located colonists in Dutch Guiana, and led by Prince Maurice set out to capture Brazil from the Portuguese about the time Fort Orange was being founded. They held Brazil for a time, but finally were forced out. The company's expenses in these directions and on the African coast proved exceedingly heavy.

While Peter Heyn's raids on the Spanish silver fleet had produced rich hauls, the profits from these adventures were not endless. The Dutch West India Company had to produce profits for the stockholders, and enjoyed prestige largely in proportion to them. Thus, in 1627, when a fifty per cent. dividend was declared, it enjoyed high favor. A year later, when only twenty per cent. was declared, there was some questioning.

Commenting on the progress of New Netherland in 1629, the West India Company told the States General:

> "The people conveyed by us thither have heretofore found but scanty means of livelihood up to the present time and have not been any profit but a drawback to this company. The trade carried on there in peltries is right advantageous; but one year with another we can at most bring home fifty thousand guilders." ($20,000.)

Securing colonists for voyages to the New World was not easy. The Walloons, sent over in 1624, had been a "find." Native Hollanders were not as eager to depart from comfortable homes to brave the perils of the savage-haunted forests or apply themselves to the hard task of cultivating a primeval soil. As a document of the time noted:

"All who are inclined to do any sort of work here (in Holland) procure enough to eat without any trouble and are therefore unwilling to go far from home on an uncertainty."

The pressing reasons for colonizing, however, remained. Chief of these was that settlement was necessary to establish more firmly the Dutch claims to the region against the increasing pretensions of England to all of America. There was also necessity for justifying expenditures already made and this could only be done if a market was developed among the colonists to furnish an outlet for Dutch manufactures. This would build up the ship trade in both directions across the Atlantic, instead of traveling one way with furs, and better profits would result all around. The inattention to agriculture in the early stages was evident from the reports to the homeland, due to the allurement of the fur trade. DeVries, visiting Fort Orange in 1657, reported that "every peasant is a trader." The patroon found his utmost exertions were required to keep the settlers to their pledged obligations as farmers, but he was never wholly successful and as early as 1640 free trade was declared for all.

In spite of the slowness of the early settlements, the Dutch operations on the Hudson River attracted wide attention. The "Planter's Plea" in London, in 1630, gave this report:

> "This which they have settled in New England upon Hudson's River, with no extraordinary charge or multitude of people is known to subsist in a comfortable manner and to promise fairlie both to the State and undertakers. The cause is evident. The men whom they carrie, though they be not many, are well chosen and known to be useful and serviceable, and they second them with seasonable and fit supplies, cherishing them as carefully as their own families and employ them in profitable labors, that are known to be of speciall use to their comfortable subsisting."

Efforts at the time to stimulate immigration by issuance of pamphlet descriptions of the region proved disappointing, but soon after the Van Rensselaer colony was established, results were better both for the patroon and the merchant company. The sending of two hundred new immigrants to Salem following the issuance of a royal charter to the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay" by the English Crown in 1628, undoubtedly spurred the Dutch authorities to initiate new measures. This charter superseded the old King James Plymouth charter which had been revoked. The basic plan of the patroonships was to obtain sponsors for colonizing who would advance their own capital, assuming all risks, and enjoying the profits if any were to be derived. This would relieve the strained resources of the West India Company. As compensation and appreciation for the speculative and patriotic service represented, the West India Company favored the granting of special honors which were patterned after those then current in the homeland. In spite of Holland's long hostility to persecution and her brave fight for independence from the Spanish yoke, the agricultural lands were still largely under feudal leasehold. The sources of the independent movement were found among the nobles, and in the cities which as merchant centers were powerful strongholds of free trade and republicanism. Probably a secondary factor in the plan adopted was the shortage of free land in the homeland which a wealthy merchant, desiring to found an estate, might buy. It was perhaps natural that the wealthier merchants, seeking the gratification of estate ownership, should have considered the feudal plan for New Netherland a happy, if not original, idea.

These aims were more likely to have interested the men whom the patroon took in as his first partners than Van Rensselaer himself. Letters of the Van Rensselaer family preserved in the State Library contain many references to lands owned by them in Holland, particularly "Cralo," after which Fort Crailo in Rensselaer was named. That originally the patroon's colony rested in a partnership (though he bought them out later) is sometimes overlooked. Yet the records clearly indicate that Van Rensselaer, no doubt to modify the risk involved in planting the Colony, had Samuel Godyn, Johannes De Laet and Samuel Blommaert as shareholders. Van Rensselaer held two shares, the others one each. Blommaert subdivided his interest with two others, Adam Bissels and Toussaint Moussart. Articles of association were drawn whereby the six partners became co-directors of the Colony. Management, however, rested in Van Rensselaer by reason of his two votes, and the others agreed to swear allegiance to him as the holder of feudal rank.

This relationship is evidenced in the map that was prepared of the Colony at Van Rensselaer's direction. On the region, still a total wilderness except for the homes of savages, the patroon caused to be designated certain zones in honor of his associates. Thus the map bears the legend "De Laet's Eylandt" for an area in the present city of Rensselaer: "Blommaerts Burg" for a section around Patroon's Creek, now Tivoli Street in Albany. "Godyn's" islands are marked below Fort Orange on the east shore. In other respects the original map is interesting. In the general locality of Troy, the land is identified as "Pafraats Dael," and near Cohoes is "Wely's Dael." By an odd perversion, "Pafraats Dael" has been interpreted to represent Indian words translated into "Lazy Man's Paradise." The interpretation has been adopted into local tradition and is often repeated. The injustice of this appears from the fact that in attaching the names "Pafraats" and "Wely" to "Daels," or places in the new land, the patroon was only seeking to honor his wife and mother. His first wife was Hellegonde van Bylet, whose name appears on some maps of the "colonie." His second spouse, whom he married in 1627 on the demise of the first, was Anna Van Wely, whence "Wely's Dael." His mother's maiden name was Maria Pafraats, hence "Pafraats Dael." To call Troy "Lazy Man's Paradise," under the circumstance, indicates a hapless deprivation of an honor which rightly belongs to a gracious and gifted lady of the seventeenth century.

The actual powers enjoyed by the patroon were so clearly defined in the Charter of Privileges and Exemptions that they deserve to be

noted, along with the provisions which made them subordinate to the mighty West India Company itself. Brodhead, in his summary, points out also terms under which colonists were accepted. He says:

> "The charter provided that any member (of the West India Company) as should within four years plant a colony of fifty adults in any part of New Netherland except the reserved island of Manhattan should be acknowledged as a 'Patroon,' or feudal chief of the territory he might thus colonize. The lands selected for each colony might extend sixteen (Dutch) miles in length, if confined to one side of a navigable river or eight miles on each side if both banks were occupied; but they might run as far into the country 'as the situation of the occupiers will permit.' If a proportionate number of additional emigrants should be settled, the limits of the colony might be proportionally enlarged.
>
> "Each patroon was promised a full title by inheritance, with *venia testandi,* or the right to dispose of his estate by will. He was to have 'the chief command and lower jurisdictions,' and the exclusive privilege of fishing, fowling and grinding within his own domain. In case any patroon 'should in time prosper so much as to found one or more cities,' he was to have 'power and authority to establish officers and magistrates there.'
>
> "The patroons were to furnish their colonies with 'proper instructions,' in order that they may be ruled and governed conformably to the rule of government made or to be made by the Assembly of the XIX (the board of trustees of the Dutch West India Company).
>
> "From all judgments in the manorial courts of the patroons for upward of fifty guilders an appeal might lie to the director and council in New Netherland. For the space of ten years, the colonists under the patroons were to be entirely free from 'customs, taxes, excise, imposts or any other contributions.' But none of these colonists 'either man or woman, son or daughter, man-servant or maid-servant' could be allowed to leave the service of their patroons during the period for which they might be bound to remain, except by the written consent of such patroon; and the company pledged itself to do everything in its power to apprehend and deliver up every such colonist 'as shall leave the service of his patroon

and enter into the service of another, or shall contrary to his contract leave his service.'

"The patroons themselves might trade all along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, provided the cargoes procured were brought to Manhattan; whence they might be sent to Holland after paying a duty of 5 per cent to the company. The patroons were also promised the freedom of trade and traffic 'all along the coast of New Netherland and places circumjacent' in every kind of merchandise 'except beavers, otters,



Fort Frey, 1739, Near Canajoharie

minks and all sorts of peltry' which trade the company reserved to itself. The fur trade, however, was permitted to the patroons 'at such places where the company have no factories' upon condition that all peltries thus procured should be brought to Manhattan and delivered to the director for shipment to Holland. Freedom of the fisheries was also promised; with the fish they caught, the patroons might trade to Italy and other neutral countries, paying to the company a duty of three guilders for every ton.

"All the colonists, whether independent or under patroons, were positively forbidden 'to make any woolen, linen or cot-

ton cloth, or weave any other stuffs there on pain of being banished, and as perjurers to be arbitrarily punished.' On the other hand, the company promised to protect and defend all the colonists, whether free or in service 'against all outlandish and inlandish wars and powers.'

"The company further promised to supply the colonists with 'as many blacks as they conveniently could'; but they were not to be bound to do this 'for a longer time than they should think proper.' The charter also distinctly provided that 'whoever shall settle any colony out of the limits of the Manhattan Island shall be obliged to satisfy the Indians for the land they shall settle upon.'

"The patroons and colonists likewise were enjoined to make prompt provision for the support 'of a Minister and Schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool, and be neglected among them; and that they do, for the first, procure a Comforter of the Sick there.'

"Each separate colony might appoint a deputy to confer upon its affairs with the director and council of New Netherland; and every colony was specially required to make an annual and exact report of its situation to the authorities at Manhattan for transmission to the company at Amsterdam."

Brodhead points out as among the "redeeming features" of the charter, which he considered in general "defaced by the selfishness of monopoly," the following:

> "It solemnly recognized the rights of the aboriginal red man and secured him satisfaction for his land. It invited the emigration of independent farmers by promising to every one a homestead. It provided for the good government of the subordinate colonies and for the right of appeal to the manorial courts. It promised protection and defense to all the colonists, and it encouraged religion and learning."

Professor Tenney notes that there were three classes of settlers at that remote period in the "colonie." These included freemen who emigrated from Holland at their own expense and were allowed as much land as they could properly develop; farmers and farm servants, the latter sent out by the patroon. The patroon's farms, he explains, were suitably stocked with cows, horses or oxen and occa-

sionally sheep, and furnished with plows, wagons and other necessary equipment, all preliminary expenses being paid by the patroon.

Annual rent of some farms was fixed on a basis equivalent to the interest of the capital expended on their improvement, payable annually in grain, beavers and wampum. Other farms were let out for one-half or a third of their produce. The patroon was entitled at the same time to half the increase from the stock, one-tenth the produce from each farm and in certain instances stipulated for a yearly acknowledgment of a few pounds of butter. The tenant was bound to keep the fences, buildings and implements in good repair and deliver them up in good condition, allowing for wear and tear. But the patroon bore all risks of destruction of the buildings, cattle and other property which might result from war or Indian troubles. Wild or unimproved land was usually leased for ten years free of rent, all improvements falling to the patroon on the expiration of the lease.

"At the close of the harvest," says Professor Tenney, "the farmer was bound to hand in a return of the amount of grain which he had for sale, after deducting what was due to the landlord by the lease and offer to him or his commissary the preëmption of such produce. In case he refused to buy it, the farmer was at liberty to sell the same elsewhere. The like rule obtained in regard to cattle." The settlers were required to bring their corn to the patroon's mill and could not fish or hunt without license from him. It was also provided that the patroon, as manorial lord, succeeded to the estate and property of all persons dying intestate within the colonie.

In explanation of the civil rights and the actual conditions in the Colonie, Brodhead writes:

> "According to the Charter of Privileges, the patroon was invested with the 'chief command and lower jurisdiction' within his colonie. In person or by deputy he might administer justice, and pronounce and execute sentences for all degrees of crime. He had the power of life and death. He could decide civil suits. The right of appeal to the director and council at Manhattan was indeed nominally reserved to the colonists; but the right was virtually annulled by the obligation under which all the colonists upon the manor were obliged to come, not to appeal from the judgments of the manorial tribunals.
>
> "The civil law, the ordinances of the Province of Holland and of the United Netherlands and the edicts of the

West India Company and of the director and council at Manhattan were the legal code of New Netherland. The same code obtained when duly published within the colonie; and the colonists in addition were subjected to such laws and regulations as the patroon or his local officers might establish. Theorectically, the patroon was always present in his Court Baron. Practically, the government of the colony was administered by a court composed of two commissaries and two *schepens* assisted by the colonial secretary and the *schout* (sheriff). The terms of the leases under which the farms were held required a return of all produce. When property changed hands, the patroon was privileged to have the first offer; and if he declined to purchase, he was entitled to a certain proportion of the consideration money received (the famous 'quarter sale' provision).

"The greater part of the colonists were farmers and their servants who had been sent out from Holland at the patroon's expense. For these, lands were set apart, houses, stock and agricultural implements provided. Besides these substantial encouragements, small advances of money and supplies of clothing were frequently furnished to the emigrant on his leaving Holland. These advances the colonist was to repay after his arrival with a large interest (originally said to have been 50 per cent., later reduced to 30 per cent.).

"The capital of the patroon was freely and liberally expended; and the emigrant began his frontier toil with more ample resources and with greater facilities than the first tenants of a wilderness generally enjoy. Yet the scheme of feudal colonization was not a happy one, either for the emigrant or patroon. Apart from the political evils which it entailed, it necessarily introduced a system of accounts which encouraged deceit and tempted to dishonesty. The payments of the colonists began to fall in arrears; the patroon's revenue suffered; and he felt himself obliged before long to instruct his colonial officers that there was no latitude to be given to the conscience or discretion of the *boers,* but the law to be stringently enforced."

The overburdening of tenants with so many exactions revealed the ever-operative principle that freedom can be too greatly impinged. The Colonie exhibited a slow growth. After a decade it became

necessary to enlarge the commercial privileges in the hope of accelerating development. The first Charter of Privileges and Exemptions had limited trade to the patroons and the West India Company. This was now extended to all free colonists and to all stockholders of the company, subject to export duties of ten per cent. and import duties of five per cent., paid to the company at Manhattan, where storehouses were set up.

An amended charter in 1640 corrected many of the extreme regulations. The prohibition against manufactures in the province was abolished. The charter was extended to include not only patroons and free settlers, but "masters and private persons." Special concessions were furnished for new settlements. The charter was promptly approved by the States General. Defining the new classes of potential proprietors and settlers, the charter said:

> "All good inhabitants of the Netherlands and all others inclined to plant any colonies in New Netherland shall be at liberty to send three or four persons in the company's ships going thither. . . . . In the selection of lands, those who shall have first notified and presented themselves to the company, whether patroons or private colonists, shall be preferred to others who may follow."

The clauses relating to recognition of "Patroons and Feudatories" who would plant colonies of fifty or more persons were continued, but the settlement period for such concessions was cut from four to three years.

"For Masters or Colonists," read the charter, "shall be acknowledged those who will remove to New Netherland with five souls above fifteen years; to all such, our Governor there shall grant in property one hundred morgens, Rhineland measure of land contiguous one to the other, wherever they please to select."

Patroons were reduced sharply in the extent of acreage they might acquire, being limited to but one mile along a coast, bay or river and two miles inland—a restriction evidently arising from the enormous Van Rensselaer land purchases. Only a few patroonships, however, were established in the Dutch period along the Hudson and in New Jersey. The Livingston Manor of Columbia County was a product of the English period, after 1664.

The provisions covering ownership of patroons' lands were continued, however, and the text is cited to reveal the completeness of this control:

"The patroons shall forever possess all the lands situate within their limits, together with the produce, superfices, minerals, rivers and fountains thereof, with high, low and middle jurisdiction, hunting, fishing, fowling and milling, the lands remaining allodial, but the jurisdiction as of a perpetual hereditary fief, devolvable by death as well as to females as to males, and fealty and homage for which is to be rendered to the Company on each of such occasions, with a pair of iron gauntlets, redeemable by twenty guilders, within a year and six weeks, at the Assembly of the XIX, here, or before the Governor there; with this understanding that in the case of division of said fief or jurisdiction, be it high, middle or low, the parts shall be and remain of the same nature as was originally conferred on the whole, and fealty and homage must be rendered for each part thereof by a pair of iron gauntlets, redeemable by twenty guilders, as aforesaid."

These were the hard and fast provisions of the feudal leasehold which have withstood every assault in the courts of law through successive evolutions of government—a remarkable enough instance of the legal skill of the Dutch traders of Amsterdam.

The terms for grants to free colonists and "masters" became very useful in the expansion of the Capital Region. Under the revised charter, the Colonie developed more rapidly. Aided by the fertility of the soil and the implements the patroon furnished, gaining a livelihood was not extremely difficult. The patroon's management was not totally devoid of advantages. Many a farmer (or *boer,* as the Dutch term was) became independent enough in a few years after landing to step out and acquire larger farms, attaining a competence in spite of the feudal tithes and rents. Others were able to settle in neighboring regions, buying land individually or with partners from the Indians under the charter provisions. The enjoyment of the fur trade, though early placed under civic regulation, laid the basis of funds for advancement. Life on the frontier was hard beyond doubt, and fraught with special perils. Those who came found they had to fight their way against nature, the Indians and a feudal system—a seemingly impossible situation. Yet fight it through they did, and so doing developed characters of the solidity of granite and hearts brave as eagles. No one can properly estimate the effect of those primitive times upon the type of citizenship that has resulted and which still clings to the territory of the Lord Patroon.

Jacob Albertsen Planck was the first sheriff of the Colonie of Rensselaerwyck, appointed by the patroon. Arent Van Curler, cousin of the patroon, coming over as a youth in 1637 as assistant commissary, soon succeeded to command. He was later the founder of Schenectady. Among the early group of colonists were the famed Roeloff Jansen, who became the owner of the Duke's Farm, now the Trinity Church property in New York City; Cornelis Maassen Van Buren, ancestor of Martin Van Buren, eighth President of the United States; and Philip Pieterse Schuyler, founder of that eminent family in America. Albert Andriessen Bradt, the patroon's first miller, Laurens Laurenson and Martin Gerritsen Van Bergen were in the 1630 group of arrivals.

It may be wondered, indeed, reviewing the heavy burden of laws and restrictions placed upon the Colonie at its birth, that it ever was able to reach maturity. But even feudalism, transplanted from the Old World, could not quench the spirit in the free forest land. The eventual battle that broke the feudal tenures did not come until long after the Revolution had guaranteed "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Echoes were heard as late as the 'eighties. By a strange turn of events the little settlement of Fort Orange (where houses were erected for eight families in 1633) clustering about the West India Company's post, suddenly was separated from the patroon's Colonie and made free by the most arbitrary of Dutch governors—Peter Stuyvesant. That event, which will be related subsequently, paved the way for independent citizenship at the head of the Hudson, and brought the conflict with feudalism into the open.

CHAPTER VI

Stuyvesant Wrests Albany from the Patroon

Free Trade Has Its First Contest With Feudalism on the Hudson—West India Company Finds Van Rensselaer Has Obtained the Finest Fur Trading Country—Seeks to Cancel the Patroonships—The Patroon Expands His Colonie, Builds the First Church—Domine Megapolensis Describes the Iroquois—Father Jogues Rescued by Van Curler, Depicts Fort Orange—Stuyvesant's "Cannon Shot" Order—Sets Up Village of Beverwyck and Frees Trade—The Blockhouse Church of 1656.

The estate of Rensselaerwyck had been planned, as we have seen, as a little principality on the Hudson. By the provisions of the Charter of Privileges and Exemptions, the region should have remained a feudal realm, tucked safely in the pocket of the Van Rensselaers, tenanted by a reasonably well-to-do and happy, but subject people, undisturbed by the outside world.

It was only natural, considering the elaborate powers conferred, that the patroon's early commissaries, arriving from Holland with armfuls of instructions, should feel quite sincerely that this corner of the world had been exclusively set aside for their lord and master.

But it didn't work out that way. History plays strange turns. The Colonie of Rensselaerwyck had scarcely begun to get its growth in the vast wilderness paradise about the tidal head of the Hudson than forces began to operate toward the liberation of the feudal régime. And remarkably enough, the motivating influence in the democratizing process came from the West India Company, the very body in which the patroonships originated.

It is a matter of record that almost as soon as they had devised the plan for the settlement of private colonies, the West India Company directors regretted the step. Their reasons therefor were entirely practical. Only three patroonships had been granted in the rush of applications following the adoption of the charter. Besides the Van Rensselaer colonie, there were Pavonia, the settlement begun

in New Jersey by Michael Pauw, and Swanandael, a colony begun on the Delaware River by David Pietersen DeVries, acting for eight directors of the West India Company, who supplied the funds. After the first flurry of colonizing had died down, and settlers had been transported across the sea, someone pointed out that the sites of the patroonships were areas which the merchant company depended on for furs. Pavonia and Swanandael were reasonably good fur producers, but the Colonie of Rensselaerwyck occupied the whole area around Fort Orange, the chief fur gathering center of New Netherland, and for that matter in the territory south of the St. Lawrence



Bridge Over the Hudson at Cohoes

River. Moreover, the patroon's land extended so far into the wilderness on both sides of the Hudson that it commanded all the Indian trails by land and water coming down to Fort Orange.

A bit belatedly, the West India Company managers realized that Kiliaen Van Rensselaer had been better informed regarding the geography of New Netherland than they had, and much shrewder. He had actually purchased, with their sanction, the key section of the Province, and was already busily sending colonists, putting up barns, homes, mills, and stores—even a trading house, where Indians could

dispose of their furs. If anything else were necessary to convince the West India Company directors of Van Rensselaer's acumen and their own lack of foresight, it could be found in the fact that Van Rensselaer had employed Krol, the West India Company's own commissary or factor at Fort Orange to buy the land from the savages. Somewhat rueful the directors may have been as they discovered that they had placed in the hands of one man a territory so valuable. They endeavored to rescind what they had done. In 1632, after the patroonships had been in existence only two years, they sought to buy them back. They succeeded in recovering Pavonia from Pauw in 1637, when he found himself burdened too heavily with the cost of operating the settlement. On the Delaware, De Vries' colony was wiped out in an Indian massacre. The patroon Van Rensselaer himself, four or five years after he began his American adventure, was almost ready to quit. The burdens, indeed, were heavy; the outlays greater than he had expected; the land was so new he could levy few rents in the beginning and crops were slow coming in. The job of finding settlers, too, was arduous and for lack of numbers the fur trade did not yield enough to offset other costs.

But by 1637—the year Pauw gave up—Van Rensselaer had passed the crisis. That year he sent his agents to buy more land, and after that there was no thought of turning the Colonie back. He would stand by his New World domain. It seems quite amazing now that the decision he then made should echo through more than three hundred years. At this writing, in Anno Domini 1941, there are still left more than five hundred acres of the estate that Kiliaen Van Rensselaer so astutely put together.

It has been wondered why the first patroon never came to America to see his fine realm. Tradition avers that he made one visit, but the translators of Van Rensselaer papers have never been able to find a verification of it. The first member of the family to see the Colonie was Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, second son of the patroon, who came over in 1651. The great progenitor, as he is called in a tablet on Albany's City Hall, however, was one of the magnates of his day. As a trader, with cargoes from many lands, especially the pearls in which he dealt, his interests may have been too involved to permit so long an absence as a voyage to America then required. As the patroon, he was obligated to send fifty settlers to the Colonie in four years; he had to conduct the Holland end of the business of shipping farm equipment and other supplies, marketing the furs that his ships brought back from the Hudson River, all involving time and effort.

But though he never saw the beauties of the region to which he gave his name, he planned and supervised its development from the other side of the ocean with care and precision that, considering the uncertainies of communication and of human vagaries among his officials and tenants, was quite amazing. Letters passed in a steady stream across the Atlantic to Planck, his first sheriff, and Gerritsen, the farm superintendent, directing their activities, almost from day to day. Their reports to him were equally scrupulous, including even the gossip of the little community. The patroon's maps of the Colonie must have been well-worn, indeed. As each farm was allotted, he evidently marked it down with all data relating to it, including the amount of stock and the rental terms. If rents were not paid, or reports did not jibe, there were questions asked.

It was his idea to place the main part of the Colonie on the east side of the river, possibly because of threatened encroachments by New Englanders, who located a settlement at Agawam (Springfield), in 1636, a hundred miles eastward. He also wanted the church built on the east bank, writing that he favored a site opposite Castle Island. "I am firmly resolved to have it on the east side at the aforesaid spot," he wrote to his commissary. "Near the church ought to be built also a dwelling for the minister and one for the sexton and this at the least expense." At the same time he allotted the ferry over the river to Hendrick Albertsen.

This was in 1642, when the Rev. Johannes Megapolensis, of Alckmar, responding to a call to service, was assigned by the Classis of Amsterdam to minister to the spiritual needs of the Colonie and to act also as a missionary to the Indians. The domine sailed with his wife and four children on the ship "Houttyn," promised a salary of one thousand guilders a year for the first three years and one thousand two hundred guilders yearly thereafter. Settlers went over on nearly every ship to New Netherland, a large number having gone over in 1637, when trading regulations were first relaxed. On the "Houttyn" Domine Megapolensis had as companions Abraham Staats (or Staes), surgeon; Evert Pels, brewer; and Hans Vos, messenger of the patroon's court; besides other freemen, farmers and farm servants. When he arrived, he found the house supposed to have been built for him delayed, and a dwelling owned by Maryn Adriaensen, located in the "Green Bush" or "Pine Woods" on the east bank, had been purchased for him. This house was built entirely of oak.

It appears, however, that the patroon's design for the church proved impractical, since it is evident from the records that the small first edifice, with nine benches for the congregation, one for magistrates, one for the deacons, and several corner seats, was erected near Fort Orange on the west side of the river, where a pine grove stood. The building was thirty-four feet long by nineteen feet wide, the site on the present Church Street (in whose honor it is named) between Pruyn Street and Madison Avenue. It was not built until 1646, indicating that Arent Van Curler met with impediments in the work. Reporting to the patroon, Van Curler wrote: "It (the church) will be large enough for the first three or four years to preach in and can be used afterward as a residence by the sexton or for a school. I hope your honor will not take this ill as it happened through good intentions."

Van Curler himself had come to the Colonie in 1637, when he was eighteen years old. A cousin of the patroon, he served as assistant commissary and later as commissary-general. He married Antonia van Slachboom, widow of Jonas Bronck. He became a well-known trader and Indian ambassador and, in 1643, assisted in the rescue of Father Isaac Jogues, a Jesuit, from the Mohawks. In 1661, he founded Schenectady. His home for some years was on the Watervliet estate later acquired by the Schuylers, named "The Flatts." He early glimpsed the fertility of this famous farm and wrote to the patroon of the many stumps and roots that had to be dug out, even after the fields appeared to have been cleared. He said, however, that it was "fine farm land" and asked to have the preference in buying it.

The ship "Houttyn" carried thirty thousand brick, of which the skipper kept twenty thousand for ballast on the homeward voyage. Disposing of the myth that all the early houses were built of Holland brick, is this excerpt from a letter from Van Curler to the patroon: "Your honor will be pleased not to send any more brick, for we can purchase them cheaper at the north than those which your honor sent, and they are as large again." He added that tiles the patroon had sent over for roofing also were valueless and had "crumbled away." It is well known that at an early date there were brick kilns on the south side of Albany's Capitol Hill and at other locations.

Domine Megapolensis has a niche in history as an earlier missionary to the Indians than John Eliot. Besides his duties in the Colonie, the clergyman studied the Mohawk language, carried on missionary endeavors among them and is reported to have made some con-

versions. He wrote his observations of the Mohawks in 1644, which were published in Amsterdam in 1651.

> "We go with them (the Mohawks) into the woods" [he wrote], "we meet with each other sometimes at an hour or two's walk from any houses, and think no more about it than if we met with a Christian. They sleep by us, too, in our chambers, before our beds. I have had eight at once who lay and slept upon the floor, near my bed: for it is their custom to sleep only on the bare ground and to have only a stone or a piece of wood under their heads. In the evening they go to bed very soon after they have supped; but they rise early in the morning and are up before day begins to break. . . . .
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> "It is natural to them to have no beards. Not one in a hundred has any hair about his mouth. They paint their faces red, blue and other colors, and they look like the devil himself. They smear their heads with bear's grease, which they all carry with them for this purpose in a small basket. . . . . When they travel, they take with them some of their maize, a kettle, a wooden bowl and a spoon. These they pack and hang on their backs. . . . . They can get fire by rubbing pieces of wood together one against the other, and that very quickly. . . . .
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> "The men have great authority over their wives, so that if they do any thing which affronts them and makes them angry, they take an axe and knock them in the head and there is an end of it. The women are obliged to prepare the land, to mow, to plant and do everything. The men do nothing except hunt, fish and go to war against their enemies. They are very cruel toward their enemies in time of war. . . . . They have also naturally a great opinion of themselves. They say, *'I hy Othkon'* (I am the devil) by which they mean they are unequalled. In order to praise themselves and their people, whenever we tell them they are very expert at catching deer, or doing this and that, they say, 'Really all the Mohawks are very cunning devils.' . . . .
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> "They also make of the peeling and bark of trees, canoes or small boats, which will carry four, five and six persons. They also hollow out trees and use them for boats, some of which are very large. I have several times sat and sailed with ten, twelve and fourteen persons in one of these hollowed

logs. . . . . The arms used by them in war were formerly a bow and arrow, with a stone axe and clap-hammer, or mallet; but now they get from our people guns, swords, iron axes and mallets. . . . .

"They are entire strangers to religion . . . . but they have a Genius whom they honor in the place of God. . . . . If they are sick, or have a pain or soreness anywhere in their limbs, and I ask them what ails them, they say that the devil sits in their body, or in the sore places, and bites them there; and they always attribute to the devil the accidents which



Leeds—Old Van Deusen Mansion, Built in 1705

befall them. They have no other religion than this. When we pray, they laugh at us. When we have a sermon, sometimes ten or twelve of them, more or less, will attend, each having a long tobacco pipe that he has made, in his mouth, and will stand awhile and look and afterwards ask me what I was doing. . . . . I tell them that I admonish the Christians that they must not steal nor commit lewdness nor get drunk, nor commit murder, and that they ought not to do these things. . . . . They say I do well to teach the Chris-

> tians, but immediately add, ... 'Why do so many Christians do these things?' They call us Assyreoni, that is, cloth makers or Charistooni, that is, iron workers, because our people first brought cloth and iron among them."

Megapolensis was still preaching in his house on the east side of the river when Father Jogues visited Rensselaerwyck in 1646. Father Jogues, taken prisoner in 1642 by the Mohawks who raided a party of Huron and French priests on the St. Lawrence River, was carried to the Mohawk Valley and tortured. Arent Van Curler, with two others from Fort Orange, went to the Mohawk village to rescue them and, in 1643, aided the missionary to escape on a boat sailing for France by way of Virginia, paying the savages three hundred livres as a ransom. Three years later Father Jogues returned to Fort Orange, after having received royal honors in France for the sufferings he had endured. He had insisted on returning to the Iroquois country, and on the way visited his Dutch friends, repaying the ransom money.

Afterwards, he wrote a description of the Province, which has a rare historic value:

> "There are two things in this settlement (which is called Rensselaerswyck, or in other words, the settlement of Rensselaer, who is a rich Amsterdam merchant)" [he wrote], "first, a miserable little fort called Fort Orange, built of logs, with four or five pieces of Breteuil cannon and as many swivels. This has been reserved and is maintained by the West India Company. This fort was formerly on an island in the river. It is now on the main-land toward the Iroquois, a little above the said island. Second, a colony sent here by this Rensselaer, who is the patroon. This colony is composed of about a hundred persons, who reside in some twenty-five or thirty houses, built along the river as each one found most convenient.
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> "In the principal house lives the patroon's agent; the minister has his apart, in which service is performed. There is also a kind of bailiff here whom they called the seneschal, who administers justice. Their houses are solely of boards and thatched, with no mason-work except the chimneys. The forest furnishes many large pines; they make board by means of their mills, which they have here for the purpose. They found some pieces of cultivated ground which the savages had formerly cleared, and in which they sow wheat and oats for beer, and for their horses, of which they have great numbers.

> There is little land fit for tillage, being hemmed in by hills, which are poor soil. This obliges them to separate, and they already occupy two or three leagues of country.
>
> "Trade is free to all; this gives the Indians all things cheap, each of the Hollanders outbidding his neighbor, and being satisfied, provided he can gain some little profit. This settlement is not more than twenty leagues from the Agniehrorons (Mohawks) who can be reached by land or water as the river on which the Iroquois lie falls into that which passes by the Dutch, but there are many low rapids and a fall of a short half league, where the canoe must be carried."

The last reference is evidently to Cohoes Falls, the "Niagara" of Rensselaerwyck, a seventy-five-foot cataract which fascinated all early beholders.

Father Jogues suffered martyrdom at the Mohawk village at Auriesville not long after his second visit to Fort Orange. Not many years ago he was canonized by the Roman Catholic Church. He was the first white man to discover Lake George.

The "free trade" to which Father Jogues referred had been in effect for a half dozen years among the patroon's colonists and licensed traders, and marked the beginning of a conflict between the patroon and the West India Company which had fateful consequences. One of the provisions of the patroon's charter was to permit the patroon to conduct his own fur trade and to license his own traders at locations where the India Company had none.

During the outbreak of Indian wars about Manhattan during Governor Kieft's administration, supplies of trading goods had been exhausted at Fort Orange and had not been replaced. This permitted the patroon to expand his fur trading, which he did with good effect. Youths found "bosonlooping" or wood-running an avocation which paid big returns, and many a farmer turned trader in spare hours, although required to bring the pelts to the patroon's warehouse.

There were so many intrusions on the river by free colonists from Manhattan who went upstream or through the woods to intercept the Mohawks, or outbid both Fort Orange and the patroon, that Van Curler recommended to his overseas lord that "your honor bring about with a high hand that the residents should not come to the colony to trade," as "otherwise your honor will never derive any profit."

The commissary reported that while a beaver had heretofore been purchasable for six fathoms of "zeewan" or Indian money, the

intruders had bid up the price to seven and one-half fathoms in 1643. The next year the "residents" offered nine fathoms and later ten fathoms. Van Curler then agreed with the commander of Fort Orange to publish a placard setting the price of furs at not more than nine fathoms of white wampum, or "zeewan," or four and one-half fathoms of black. Violators were to be punished by heavy fines and confiscation of goods. He estimated the free traders had taken three thousand to four thousand furs and said, "neither I nor the company have scarcely had any trade this year."

One of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer's last acts was to order Van Curler to build a small fort on Beeren Island, at the southern boundary of his Colonie, whose commander, Nicholas Koorn, was instructed to halt all ships except those of the patroon or the West India Company. They were to pay a toll, dip their flag in acknowledgment of the "lord patroon's acquired rights" on the river and were permitted to pass only on condition that they would trade through the patroon's commissary, "but not with the Indians or his (the patroon's) particular subjects. Koorn issued a manifesto which charged that the independent traders by coming up the river had "destroyed the fur trade" for both Fort Orange and the Colonie, and merely sought to gain some personal profit "not caring that the patroon will thereby be unable to meet the expenses of his colony."

The attempt to enforce this trade control led to immediate difficulties. Koorn ambitiously fired on the yacht of Govert Lookermans, a prominent Manhattan trader, and shot down the Dutch flag when the doughty captain declined to recognize the "staple right of Rensselaerwyck." Koorn was arrested by the West India Company and admonished, but was soon again at his post, seeking, as he said, to "keep the canker of free people" out of the Colonie.

At the bottom of the controversy was the contention of the Van Rensselaers that their land purchases gave them complete control of the region between Beeren Island and Cohoes Falls. This opened the question, Who owned Fort Orange? Compared with the patroon's vast domain, the Fort Orange settlement was only a pin-point. The descriptions by Father Jogues and others indicate the fort contained several cottages of settlers and the trading house of the West India Company. Myndert Van der Bogaert was fort commander, having succeeded Sebastian Jansen Krol. The outlying farms first tilled by the Walloons apparently were abandoned before 1630, though a few of the original settlers are believed to have remained, including a Walloon on the east bank of the river.

The existence of Fort Orange since 1624 was a recorded fact and the West India Company had always kept soldiers and traders there. What was lacking was a deed of purchase for the land on which Fort Orange stood. In this respect the West India Company was as much at a loss as it would have been if asked to show a deed for Manhattan. Whether a land purchase was originally made for Fort Orange will probably always be disputed, though it is just possible a transaction was carried out similar to Minuit's $24 "deal" at the lower end of the river.

Appointment of Peter Stuyvesant as Governor of the Province in 1647 as the successor of the incompetent Kieft quickly brought the matter to a head. Notoriously autocratic and hostile to popular movements, Stuyvesant, nevertheless, is entitled to historic credit for establishing free trade on the Hudson River while America was in its swaddling clothes.

In the annals of the Capital Region he is further distinguished as the founder of Albany as a municipality, an event which grew directly out of the free trade battle. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer died in 1644. The patroonship devolved upon his son Johannes, a minor, for whom an uncle, John Van Wely, and cousin, Wouter Van Twiller, former Governor of New Netherland, were named guardians. They appointed Brant Aertsen Van Schlechtenhorst director of Rensselaerwyck, who took office in 1648. Adriaen Van der Donck, who had been attorney-general and sheriff in the Colonie, left in 1644 after conniving against Van Curler. He later led a movement for popular government in New Amsterdam and became the founder of Yonkers.

An interesting event of 1647 was a huge freshet during which houses in the vicinity of Fort Orange were flooded and the fort almost washed away. Several whales ascended the Hudson, one of which stranded on an island at Troy, where the tide and upper river meet. Van der Donck, who wrote an account of the Province, recorded the incident, saying the people of Rensselaerwyck boiled out a great quantity of train oil from the whale, and the water for weeks was covered with grease. No whale has ever been known to get so far up the river since. The island was known thereafter as *Walvisch* or "Whale Fish" Island. It was removed when the Federal lock and dam at Troy were constructed.

Van Schlechtenhorst, who was fifty-nine when he took over the management of the Colonie, was related distantly by marriage to the Van Rensselaers, and quickly established a reputation as stout defender of the "lord's" interests. He locked horns almost at once with stubborn Peter Stuyvesant.

The new Governor indicated plainly that he intended to sustain the authority of the West India Company as the supreme power in the Province. He did not propose to have the patroon interfere with the company's fur trade, and he especially would not tolerate the fort at Beeren Island, or the "staple right" of Rensselaerwyck. He notified the patroon's officers that he expected them to obey the laws adopted by the Director and Council of New Netherland.

Van Schlechtenhorst took the first opportunity offered to show that he would not recognize any authority but that of the patroon. When the Governor sent up a proclamation to be read in the church designating a day of fasting and prayer and ordering Domine Megapolensis to preach a sermon on penance once each month, the patroon's commissary said this was contrary to usage, and required the colonists to take a new oath of allegiance to the patroon.

The refusal stung the Governor, and not long after he paid a visit to Fort Orange. He was honored by a salute from the patroon's guns, but declined to be mollified. His inspection of Fort Orange revealed that buildings of the patroon's settlers had been allowed to encroach upon its walls, rendering it indefensible. The Governor promptly ordered Van Schlechtenhorst to construct no more buildings within cannon shot of the fort and the removal of those that were within that zone. This the commissary flatly refused to do. Instead, he wrote a protest to the home government saying the patroon had purchased the land from the Indians and for several years the patroon's trading house had stood undisturbed on the moat of the fort. "Now comes Governor Petrus Stuyvesant," he wrote, "attempting to prevent the infant patroon from improving or building on his own ground."

Stuyvesant's answer to this was to voyage again up the river to Fort Orange. In March, 1652, after having posts set out six hundred paces—about three thousand feet—from the fort, which Van Schlechtenhorst threatened to pull down, the Governor ordered Sergeant Litschoe and a squad of soldiers to march to the patroon's trading house and pull down the flag which was flying in the territory of the West India Company.

The soldiers "with loaded muckets" entered the enclosure of the trading house, which stood several hundred feet north of Fort Orange, and "after firing a volley" hauled down the patroon's bright red flag bearing the Van Rensselaer crest. Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, second son of the late patroon, had arrived from Holland and was present at the dramatic dénouement. The crackle of the shots was

heard by an amazed group of colonists and Indians, who had gathered near the trading house. The Indians had shown some resentment against "Wooden Leg," as they called Stuyvesant, who had lost a leg fighting on the Spanish Main.

The savages had been accustomed to sleep in houses built by the patroon near the fort and did not want to be disturbed. They offered the Governor land in their own country if he would let the buildings stand.

But Stuyvesant had made up his mind that the patroon's control should not include Fort Orange, as his trade should not control the river. So on that day, April 1, 1652, the history of this little community was altered in a vital way. It was fortunate for Albany that Stuyvesant would not brook opposition to authority. An autocrat himself, he thereupon formally declared the zone around Fort Orange free forever from the Colonie of Rensselaerwyck.

A few days later he issued a proclamation giving the name "Beverwyck" or "Place of the Beavers" to the new village, whose bounds were the posts he had driven north, west and south of Fort Orange. These posts were ever after called "Stuyvesant's Pales." The Governor set up a court of justice for the fort-village, gave public lands for the poor farm and granted lots in present State Street to settlers who became the first citizens of Beverwyck. Van Schlechtenhorst was sent back to Holland in chains.

Thus forcibly was Albany set on its municipal career. The patroon's settlers withdrew from the center of the village, retiring north of Orange Street and south of Gansevoort Street, where they rebuilt their homes. Three years later the communities had grown so far from the protection of Fort Orange that it was decided to build a new church, in blockhouse style, at the intersection of the main roads. This was erected in 1656 in the middle of State Street and Broadway, where it stood for over one hundred and fifty years. Three cannon were mounted in the roof for defense. The leading families of Beverwyck and Rensselaerwyck had stained glass windows with their names and coats-of-arms. The magistrates of Fort Orange and Rensselaerwyck had special pews. The women of the congregation sat together downstairs, the men in the gallery where, in event of attack, they could fire through the upper windows. They carried guns to church for many years, and in times of emergency kept supplies of ball and powder in the edifice. Distances were measured from the building, and the bell, brought over from Holland with the high pulpit and half-hour glass which are still preserved, rang

morning and evening, a clarion to the activities of the villagers. Even the wooden beams were sent over from Holland for the church, but these were found too short and were used in the residence of Domine Gideon Schaets, built in 1657 at the northeast corner of State and Pearl streets. Domine Schaets was the successor of Megapolensis, who accepted a call to New Amsterdam, and afterward figured dramatically in the surrender of the Province to the English in 1664. The expenses of erecting the church were shared in jointly by the patroon, his colonists, the officers of Fort Orange and inhabitants of Beverwyck. Thus the church became the religious center of the two communities, a bond which enabled them to ease their differences.

Stuyvesant was sustained by the West India Company in his contest over control at the upper end of the Hudson. The directors formally replied, in answer to Van Schlechtenhorst's claims, that Fort Orange had been constructed and garrisoned "years before any mention of Rensselaerwyck exists." Beeren Island, which the patroon's agents had "usurped in such a lofty way," was to be deprived of its artillery. "Everyone," wrote the directors, "shall navigate this river unmolested and enjoy a free trade at our Fort Orange."

So, in creating the village of Beverwyck, Stuyvesant carried out his superiors' orders. He threw open the fur trade to the settlers of the fort-village, which though so small in area had become a free zone bordered by the great manor. The effects of the new liberty on the river and in Beverwyck soon were felt. Population increased and, in 1657, there were exported from the trading houses of Beverwyck and Rensselaerwyck 40,940 beaver and otter skins.

CHAPTER VII

Expansion Under the Dutch: Van Curler Founds Schenectady

Fur Trade Booms—Pioneer Inhabitants Build Houses in Beverwyck—Alexander Lindsay Glen Locates on the Mohawk, Van Hoesan at Hudson, Abraham Staats at Stockport, Others at Catskill and Coxsackie—Van Curler and Fourteen Proprietors Buy the "Great Flats," Found Schenectady—Beverwyck Palisaded (1660)—Schenectady Fur Trade Forbidden—Village and Farms Laid Out (1664)—Dutch Régime Comes to Close.

The establishment of Beverwyck, tiny a community as it was, initiated the expansion of settlement beyond the precincts of the patroon's Colonie. Governor Stuyvesant had created a village extending only three thousand feet north, west and south of Fort Orange. But the little group of settlers who attended the solemn ceremony in 1656 when Rutger Jacobsen, village magistrate, set the corner-stone of the blockhouse Dutch Reformed Church at State Street and Broadway—first public building in the new community—must have felt the importance of the step. The edifice faced the three trails coming into town from the north, west and south, presenting cannon in each direction.

Here was, indeed, a protected crossroads in the wilderness; a church that was also a fortress, supplementing pioneer Fort Orange which still stood by the riverside to the south, with its nine cannon. When the bell from the new church first tolled out in the forest stillness, residents of young Beverwyck had begun erecting houses on the lots granted to them by Stuyvesant along present State Street, extending toward the broad hillside. Broadway had become a bustling trading center, with stores and Indian huts clustered near the old fort. One of the original State Street property owners was Philip Pieterse Schuyler, who came to the Colony in 1647. He acquired the site at the southeast corner of State and Pearl streets. He is believed to have

lived on this site from 1659 until his death in 1683, erecting the famous double house with gables in 1667. He left the property to Captain Johannes Schuyler, who became tenth mayor of Albany. This house was the birthplace of Major-General Philip Schuyler, Revolutionary hero. Philip Pieterse Schuyler's Indian trading house was in the rear of this site, on Beaver Street.

Arnout Cornelise Viele, noted trader and explorer, bought a house in 1663 on State Street just east of Green. He was the second white man to see the Ohio River, following closely on the heels of La Salle, French adventurer.



Glen-Sanders House, 1713, Scotia

Lots on the south side of State Street, west of Pearl, were early acquired by Richard Pretty, who became the first sheriff of Albany. Alexander Lindsay Glen had a trading house on Broadway in 1652. Dirk Wessels Ten Broeck acquired Annetje Jans' house at State and James streets for one thousand guilders after her death in 1663. Volckert Jansen Douw, who arrived in the Colony in 1638, was also an early property owner in Beverwyck, the lot at the southwest corner of State and Pearl still being in family ownership. Evert Pels had a brewery at the foot of State Street.

More traders soon located on Broadway, which became known as Handelaars, or Traders' Street. State Street, on which brick houses were built as early as 1657, became known as Yonker, or "Gentleman's" Street. The patroon's colonists had withdrawn from the fort zone under Stuyvesant's orders, going north of Clinton Avenue and south to Gansevoort Street. Their old homes were torn down and rebuilt in the new locations. Clinton Avenue was long known as Patroon Street, since it was the north dividing line finally agreed upon between the manor of Rensselaerwyck and the city of Albany.

Stuyvesant had appointed magistrates for the new village to act as a council with the commander of Fort Orange, the latter becoming schout or sheriff of the village. Thus a limited representative government had begun. All these changes stirred men's thoughts. Observing the village shaping before their eyes, it was only natural that many should feel a longing to become themselves owners of land. Beverwyck, after all, was small, going only a little beyond the hilltop on the west.

There was another urge for expansion. Settlers in Beverwyck could trade for peltry as freely as agents of the West India Company, or the patroon, provided they delivered the furs to the company's stone building inside Fort Orange and paid the export tax. A boom struck the settlement with the result, as we have noted, of the shipping of an extraordinary volume of furs in 1657 and years immediately following. In 1652, the movement for a popular government led by Van der Donck had its effect. That was the year Admiral Tromp swept the English ships out of the English Channel and hoisted a broomstick on his mast. With Holland and England at war, revolting colonists in New Netherland were not what the Dutch government wanted. Union of New Netherland with the New England colonies had been threatened. So Stuyvesant was directed, in 1653, to grant New Amsterdam a municipal government of burghers and schepens. These were appointed at first, but in 1657 double nominations were allowed from which the selections should be made and classes of burgher rights were adopted.

The burgher form of government was an important concession, since it enabled citizens to acquire privileges as freeholders in trades and professions. "Great burghers," leading merchants and property owners were eligible for public office. "Little burghers" could advance from small trades and activities to the higher group, through expansion and payment of moderate fees. Magistrates of Beverwyck, in 1656, were Rutger Jacobsen, Andries Herbertsen, Philip

Pieterse Schuyler, Jacob Jans Schermerhorn, Goosen Gerritsen Van Schaick and Dirk Jansen Croon. Adriaen Jansen Appel was licensed by Stuyvesant in 1654 to conduct a "tavern or boarding house" on condition that it "be not used for a tippling house." Jan Van Aecken had a bakery near the corner of State and Broadway.

Growth of the village was noted in a report by Domine Megapolensis and Drisius of New Amsterdam to the Amsterdam Classis in Holland, in 1657, the year after the Dutch Church was built in Beverwyck. "The condition of the congregation is most gratifying;" they wrote, "it grows stronger apace so as to be almost as strong as we are at Manhattan."

Settlers who had been in the Colony some years began to accumulate a competence and glimpsed the larger possibilities of landholding on their own account. Farming, once the bottom lands had been taken up, was not easy in view of the task of grubbing and cultivation. Father Jogues had asserted there was little land "fit for tillage" beyond the bottom lands of Fort Orange. So there came a tendency to push onward to new horizons. It is to be noted that a number of the first settlers in Beverwyck were hardworking farmers who, in 1651, only a few months before Stuyvesant arbitrarily established the village, had sworn a feudal oath of allegiance to the patroon. How swiftly circumstances change! Among these followers of the patroon were founders of communities in outlying regions, including Arent Van Curler, long the patroon's own commissary and a relative. He led the way in 1661 in the establishment of Schenectady, first Dutch town on the Mohawk—now the city that "lights and hauls the world."

Special reasons may have actuated other shifts to new locations. In 1652, the patroon directed Gerrit Swart, schout of Rensselaerwyck, "above all things take care that divine worship shall be maintained in said colonie conformably to the Reformed religion" of Holland. Although no other church had been built in the region it is said this ruling as well as a desire to strike out for himself led Thomas Chambers, an English settler who had occupied lands near the present city of Troy, to locate that year at Esopus (Kingston). With several others, he began the settlement of Ulster County, an ill-starred enterprise as it turned out to be, leading to terrible massacres which wracked the frontier.

The first permanent settler on the Mohawk was Alexander Lindsay Glen, a Scotsman, reputed of noble blood, who had fled his homeland for religious reasons, thence emigrating to New Netherland from Holland. He had been attached to the West India Company

at Fort Nassau on the Delaware River in 1633, was later in Brooklyn and removed soon after to Fort Orange, where he was a trader twenty years. He was a signer of the patroon's oath in 1651. In 1655 he acquired lands on the north shore of the Mohawk and about 1658 built a stone house opposite Schenectady, naming the estate "Nova Scotia." The name "Scotia" is applied to the community today. Another early settler, Claes Andries De Graff, located at the "hook" in Scotia about the same time. It was known as "De Graven Hoeck," or DeGrave's (De Graff's) Point on early maps.

Glen's name, as in the case of some others previously noted, underwent a profound change on his arrival, a solitary Scot among the Hudson River Dutchmen. The "laird of Scotia" is identified in historical records by the Dutch translation of his name, which was Alexander Lindsay. His home town in Scotland was named Glen, which the Dutch, according to the early custom, used as a surname. Similarly, an Irishman, John Anderson, one of the early Catskill settlers, became "Jan Andriesen van Dublin," in the Dutch records.

In 1662, Jan Franz Van Hoesan, a Hollander who had been in Rensselaerwyck, bought a tract from the Mahikans on the Hudson which includes a portion of Greenport and the modern city of Hudson. On the east, it bordered Claverack Creek and the lower Van Rensselaer patent, purchased for the patroon in 1649, and the title was contested, but Van Hoesan won. Farmers had located in the vicinity of Kinderhook as early as 1640. Brodhead says the "racks" or "reaches" of the Hudson were named soon after the founding of Fort Van Nassau. Many of the names have never been changed. Visscher's Rack is near Pollopel's Island. "Claver Rack" is supposed to have referred to fields of clover bordering the river near Hudson City, which was first called Claverack Landing. "Kinder Hoeck" or "Children's Point" reputedly originated in the sight of Indian children playing on the banks. The name was first applied to the shore region, the village now, of course, being located inland.

About the same time that Van Hoesan took up his land, Abraham Staats, surgeon of Fort Orange, who came over with Domine Megapolensis in 1642, and owned a lot just west of State and Pearl, built a house and began trading in furs on Stockport Creek. His trading house was burned in the Esopus wars, his trader's wife being killed. He obtained a patent in 1667. Early maps identify the creek as "Major Abraham's Kill." Pieter Bronck, of Rensselaerwyck, located near Coxsackie in 1662. He was a son of Jonas Bronck, owner of Bronck's land in New York City, from which

The Bronx takes its name. Van Curler married Jonas Bronck's widow.

At Catskill, isolated settlers were located after the Van Rensselaers attempted a land purchase in 1644, thinking to prevent Adriaen Van der Donck from acquiring a tract three. Van der Donck, on leaving Rensselaerwyck, sought to locate near Catskill, but went to New Amsterdam and, in 1646, in return for service as mediator with the Indians, Kieft granted him an estate called "Colen Donck," later Yonkers, for "the Yonker" or gentleman proprietor. Kieft recognized Van der Donck as a patroon under the 1629 charter. The Van Rensselaer Catskill purchase was voided in 1652, but those already settled were allowed to remain. These included Claes Uylen Spiegel, Jan Van Bremen and Hans Vos. Van Bremen's contract required him to keep a room in his house for the use of the patroon's director if he should pass that way. Vos was banished for selling liquor to the Indians, but the sentence was suspended and he later held public offices. Although Catskill was outside the patroon's colonie, it was under Fort Orange jurisdiction.

Roving the woods were many independent traders who appear at various points in the region's chronicle and led highly adventurous lives. One of these was the noted Cornelis Antonissen Van Slyck, called by the savages "Broer Cornelis." Van der Donck found him living at Cohoes Falls in 1640. He had married a Mohawk woman and was a great trader, enjoying much prestige among the tribesmen. He obtained a large grant of land at Catskill in 1646 for services to Governor Kieft, and received other grants from the Mohawks, as did his children Martin, Jacques, Hilletje and Leah, who also are famed as pioneers. Jacques became owner of Van Slyck's Island in the Mohawk near the present Great Western Gateway Bridge, Schenectady. Hilletje, who married Pieter Van Olinda, received a grant of an island in the Mohawk at Niskayuna and other lands at Cohoes Falls. She became a noted interpreter at Indian conferences at Fort Orange. Leah married Jonathan Stevens and had lands near Alplaus and at Willow Flat. Her first husband was Claes van Coppernoll.

The spurt in trade at Fort Orange and Beverwyck soon attracted attention at home, and interest in the Province was stimulated further by the publication of books describing the natural fertility and wonders of the New World. In 1634, Harmen Myndert Van der Bogaert, surgeon at Fort Orange, had made an exploration of the Mohawk country as far as Oneida Lake, and described the native villages he found. His journal, first of its kind, was not, however,

generally circulated. Van der Donck's account of the Province appeared in 1656 in Amsterdam and had a widespread effect. Many settlers came over about 1660 in such ships as the "Spotted Cow," "Gilded Otter," "Fox" and others. Not all accounts of the wonders of the region were as reliable as Van der Donck's. Interesting, as a sample of the information some of the early settlers had, is an excerpt from a description published in Amsterdam under the title "Die Neuwe en Onbekende Werreld," in 1671, which while clinging quite faithfully to the delineation of most of the natural features, insists that in the Canadian border region were horses with horns sticking out of the middle of the head, and it was customary for beavers to carry sticks on their backs, steadied by fellow-beavers walking beside them!

> "The oak" [says this description], "usually grows sixty to seventy feet high, for the most part free of knots, for which reason it is well adapted to ship building. The hickory trees furnish a hot and lasting fire and a curious appearance wherever the bush is cut away either for the purpose of more open hunting or for clearing the ground for a bouwery.
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> "Some plants sent hither from Holland thrive better than even in Holland, namely, the apple, pear, quince, cherry, plum, currant, apricot, buckthorn, peace and onion. Vines grow wild everywhere and bear in abundance blue and white muscetels. . . . . Every vegetable known to the Dutch is cultivated in the gardens. Watermelons as savory as they are wholesome are when ripe as large as a cabbage. Gourds when cleaned out serve as water vessels. Tobacco produces leaves five quarters long. Pumpkins grow luxuriant and agreeable. Turkish beans planted beside the corn wind themselves around the stalk.
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> "The hills consist of fullers earth or clay fit for making dishes, pots, and tobacco pipes. There is besides abundance of rock crystal and Muscovy glass. . . . . Hogs fatten exceedingly in the woods: those fed on Indian corn give the sweetest pork. Venison is so abundant that the sheep can be the more easily dispensed with. Fowls, turkey, geese, ducks, pigeons and other feathered game are also easily obtained. Lions (could the writer mean panther?), whose skins the Indians bring to market, are caught on a high mountain situated fifteen days journey to the southwest.
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> "Here are many pitch black bears, shy of men but which when attacked, spring on the hunters; they first stop the

wound with a pledget of leaves and if the hunter meanwhile takes refuge in a tree, climb after and above him, then stick the head between the legs and fall downward. They sleep during the winter, lying six weeks on one side and an equal time on the other, sucking their paw. On the borders of Canada, animals are now and again seen somewhat resembling a horse; they have cloven hoofs, shaggy manes, a horn right out of the forehead, a tail like that of the wild hog, black eyes, a stag's neck and love the gloomiest wildernesses. . . . .

"The beavers first collect together all the driftwood which they find along the river, and whenever this falls short, they gnaw away in the next adjoining wood the sweetest bark all around with the front teeth of which they have two in the upper and two in the lower gums; they then cut right around the trunk until the tree falls. . . . . The females carry the pieces on the back, the males supporting it behind so that it might not fall off. The houses (of the beavers) rise ingeniously to a height of five stories, smeared above to protect them from the rain."

By which it appears that the Dutch, ever noted for their imaginative gifts and humor, were not above furnishing prospective voyagers to New Netherland with a few "tall tales."

The Van Rensselaer Bowier manuscripts, edited by Dr. A. J. F. Van Laer, indicate that the patroon's director presided over a court until April 10, 1652, when Governor Stuyvesant established the court at Fort Orange for the Village or *Dorpe* of Beverwyck. Van Rensselaer's court rarely tried cases after this early date, it is stated, and on the English conquest in 1664 the courts of Albany and Rensselaerwyck were combined. Even under the manorial patent granted by Governor Dongan, in 1685, the right of court leet and baron accompanying feudal tenure was rarely exercised, cases being referred to the court of the village and fort.

Scattering of nationalities among the early settlers of the Colonie should be noted, since it gave the pioneer Dutch settlement cosmopolitan tinge. Settlement increased in 1643 after the issuance of the second Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, and again in the 1650s. Several nationalities were among the early arrivals, including Roeloff Jansen, who arrived in 1630 from Masterland, Holland, with his wife, Annetje Jans. From Fleckero, an island off Norway, in 1631, came Andries Christensz and Cornelis Goverts, and from Copen-

hagen, Laurens Laurenson. The same year arrived Cornelis Maassen Van Buren, ancestor of Martin Van Buren, from Buyrmalsen, Gelderland, Holland.

Albert Andriesen "de Noorman" sailed from Amsterdam in 1636 on the ship "Rensslaerwyck." A son, born during a storm at sea on the voyage, adopted the name Storm Van Der Zee. Jan Labbatie, a farmer and trader who came to the Colony in 1634, was a Frenchman, or as the Dutch had it, a "fransman." Hans Vos, whom we have noted as a pioneer, was a native of Germany. The great majority of the colonists, however, were native Hollanders, and their language, customs and characteristics prevailed.

The circumstances under which some began their careers acted as a spur to their advancement. The Dutchmen were inveterate lovers of freedom, and regardless of the handicaps, ever sought a fuller expression of their personalities and activities, free of restraint. Abraham Staats, who came over in 1642 from Amsterdam at the age of twenty-four, brought his wife, who was nineteen, and a servant or boy with him. The records state that he "accepted the conditions of freemen of the Colonie of Rensselweryck after they were read to him and for the period of six years commencing on his arrival in the colony with a view of practicing his profession of surgeon." Besides signing these conditions he was directed to take the "proper oath of submission and fealty to the lord patroon according to the copy thereof given him."

Staats, we have seen, also became a trader on Stockport Creek, for which he obtained a patent. He owned a sloop on the river.

Whether the settlement of Schenectady was entirely due to a desire to found an agricultural community or whether this aim was combined with a desire of certain individuals to become fur traders, history does not entirely determine. That there was a definite plan for setting up a farm community by a group of proprietors acting in concert is clear. That they considered trading with the Indians one of their rights as colonists in an undeveloped region, is unmistakable. And that they did trade with the savages in spite of strenuous efforts by Beverwyck and Rensselaerwyck to stop them is evidenced from the house searchings and arrests that followed.

The establishment of a settlement by proprietors savors of New England, and was repeated some years later in the founding of Hudson City by the whalers of Nantucket. Yet Schenectady was the first Dutch community on the Mohawk, as Albany was the first settled on the Hudson. Schenectady, as time went on, came to be considered

even "Dutchier" than Albany, retaining modes, manners and speech of the pioneers well into the nineteenth century. It also has preserved a much larger number of its Dutch homes than survive in the Albany neighborhood.

Its founding was almost at the close of the official Dutch régime, one of the last acts of Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Governor, having been to "pass" the Schenectady Patent, in 1664. The settlement, however, was applied for in 1661 and begun in 1662 by Arent Van Curler and fourteen associate proprietors.

One of the singular circumstances of the founding was that it occurred in the midst of the Esopus Indian War, during which the frontier was in a state of alarm. It was at the height of this war, in 1659, that Fort Orange and Beverwyck were enclosed by palisades—a wall of wooden posts, fifteen feet high—for mutual defense.

Van Curler, in 1642, while on a trip to the Mohawk country in an attempt to rescue Father Isaac Jogues, Jesuit missionary, had been struck by the attractiveness of the "Groote Vlachte" or Great Flat, lying northwesterly of the limits of the patroon's colonie. He had written the patroon in Holland at that time that "a half day's journey from the Colonie, on the Mohawk River, there lies the most beautiful land that the eye of man ever beheld." This "schoonste" land was called "Schonowe" by the Indians, meaning flats. It lay along the south shore of the Mohawk, filled with alluvial soil caused by the many overflowings of the river which makes a long bend at this point. Smith, in his "History of New York," in 1756, wrote that "the lands at Schenectady are so fertile they are commonly sold at 45 Pounds per acre." And he added: "The flats are exceedingly rich land. . . . . Though the farmers use no kind of manure they till the fields every year and they always produce full crops of wheat or peas."

Impressions of Van Curler regarding the property were deepened in 1659 when he went with twenty-five others, officials of Rensselaerwyck and Beverwyck, to Auriesville, scene of Father Jogues' martyrdom in 1646, for a conference with the Mohawks. Esopus Indians had attacked the settlement at Kingston, burning at the stake ten soldiers they had captured in ambush. The Mohawks themselves had been on the warpath against the Hurons, and had made so many raids in French Canada that they feared reprisals. In 1653 they had captured Father Poncet, a Jesuit, who was taken to Fort Orange to have his wounds attended. It is recorded that "an old Walloon" received the missionary in his home until he was able to return to Quebec.

At the Auriesville conference (the name Caughnawaga was then applied to this Mohawk village) Van Curler acted as spokesman. A widely known trader, he was highly respected by the Iroquois, who called him "Brother Corlear," and gave the name "Corlear" to all governors of New York in his honor. Among others in the party were Philip Pieterse Schuyler, who came to Rensselaerwyck in 1647, founding the Schuyler family in this country; Jeremias Van Rensselaer; Volckert J. Douw, a noted trader; François Boon, Johannes Prevoost, Andries Herbertsen and others. The Mohawks asked aid from the Dutch in repairing their castles and guns as well as restraint in the sale of liquor.

Van Curler, in reply, told the chiefs:

> "Do not allow your people to come to us for brandy and none shall be sold them. Only two days ago we met twenty to thirty kegs on the road, all going to obtain brandy. Our chiefs are very angry because the Dutch sell brandy to your people, and always forbid our people to do it. Now forbid your people to buy brandy. If you desire that we should take the brandy and the kegs containing it from your people, say it before all these people, and if we afterward do it you must not be angry."

He said the Dutch could not furnish horses to help the savages haul stockades because the "hills are too high and steep," but the commissioners presented the chiefs with gifts which included eleven boxes of wampum, seventy-five pounds of powder, one hundred pounds of lead, fifteen axes, some knives and two beaver skins.

The Mohawks, who had once effected a peace between the settlers at Wiltwyck (Kingston) and the Esopus Indians, promised not to aid that war. On the return home, Van Curler again passed by the Great Flats, the trail being along the south shore of the Mohawk, and may have talked with Sander Leendertse Glen, of Scotia, about it.

A new outbreak occurred soon after at Kingston, with forays near Fort Orange by the River Indians who joined the general unrest. Burning of Staats' house at Stockport Creek caused the death of the wife of Jan Andriesen, the Irishman, formerly at Catskill, who had been his assistant in the Indian trade.

Inhabitants of Beverwyck, fearing dangers both from the Esopus Indians and the French, decided to fortify the town and built a huge fence, or stockade, of wooden posts fifteen feet high, set closely together. Blockhouses were built at the corners, with gates at the end

of the streets. The palisades extended from the foot of Hudson Avenue north along the Hudson to Steuben Street, then to North Pearl Street, and up the hill to Lodge Street, thence to South Pearl near Beaver Street, and to Broadway and Hudson Avenue. The blockhouse church was thus the central feature of this defense, no fort having yet been built on the hillside. This was the beginning of the career of Beverwyck, as a walled town, much more elaborate fortifications later being erected.

The Mohawks had also complained bitterly of the wood-runners or *bosloopers,* who came out to meet them as they neared the town and bartered their furs away. A delegation of Seneca Indians com-



General Herkimer Home, 1764

ing to Fort Orange in July, 1660, said they had been roughly handled by the traders and so many brokers were in the woods they "do not know where to go with their beavers." They felt that "each trader ought to have some of their peltry."

Governor Stuyvesant, who was present, ordered wood-running discontinued and told the Indians they could go where they liked to sell their furs. "You need not listen any longer to these runners," he said, "but beat them on the head until it can no longer be seen where their eyes were."

Raids were made in the spring of 1662 by the Mohawks on the Penobscot and Kennebec rivers, against the Abenaquis Indians of Maine, who were Algonkins, their inveterate foes. New Englanders suffered some losses of cattle during the conflict and governors of

Boston and Nova Scotia sent commissioners to Fort Orange to arrange a peace with the warriors. This was the first of many intercolonial peace treaties with the redskins at the Dutch outpost. The Iroquois were then setting out on the series of campaigns that made them masters of the forest from Maine to the Carolinas, and westward to the Mississippi.

To propose founding a new settlement at such a time, in a wilderness seventeen miles west of Beverwyck in the Mohawk hunting territory, required both courage and a confidence in the ability of the sponsors to obtain peace and protection from the savages. Van Curler, a cousin of Jeremias Van Rensselaer, had acquired "The Flatts," in Watervliet, and served as a magistrate of the Colonie. He was the first statesman of the Dutch in the north, one of the chief Indian negotiators of Colonial times.

The discussion regarding the new settlement reached the action stage June 18, 1661, when Van Curler on behalf of himself "and a few other persons," wrote to Governor Stuyvesant for permission to buy "the large plain situated to the back of Fort Orange toward the interior for the purpose of cultivation."

He told the Governor "some friends and well wishers" sought to take possession of the land, six or eight families being "inclined" to the enterprise. Stuyvesant had promised him a warrant for the purchase, he said, but nothing had come of it. After signing the letter he added the postscript: "If your Honor falls short three or four muds of oats as feed for your Honor's horses, please command me to supply your Honor with the same from my small store." He signed the postscript "A. V. Curler." Stuyvesant accepted this "hint" and on June 23d dispatched a letter which cited Van Curler's wish to buy the land "and make a settlement there, "which being maturely considered, the Director-General and Council resolved to consent to it; provided that the said lands, on being purchased from the native proprietors be, as usual, transferred to the Director-General and Council aforesaid as representatives of the Lords Directory of the Privileged West India Company; and that whatever the petitioners shall pay for the aforesaid lands shall in due time be returned to them, or be discounted to them against the tenths."

Van Curler and his associates proceeded to buy the flats on July 27, 1661. The deed was attested at Fort Orange before Vice-Director William de la Montagne by three Mohawk chiefs, Cantuquo, Aiadane and Sonareetsie, who drew for their signatures crude representations of their clan totems, the Wolf, Bear and Turtle. Can-

tuquo, for the Bear clan, drew his totem upside down. Martin Mourise Van Slyck, a part owner of an island in the Mohawk, and son of Cornelis Antonissen Van Slyck, was a witness to the deed. By the document, in consideration of a "certain number of cargoes," the sachems gave up to Van Curler the "piece of land or Great Flat by the Indians named Schonowe."

This, however, was the easiest part. Word of the new settlement caused concern in Beverwyck and Rensselaerwyck, whose inhabitants feared their fur trade would suffer. Since the town was to be established at the place where Indians often left their canoes, because of the Cohoes Falls, coming overland through the pine woods to Fort Orange to trade, there seemed to be prospect of a serious interception of peltry. They hastily appealed to Stuyvesant to restrain the inhabitants of the new village from dealing in furs.

Stuyvesant, too, saw possible lessening of revenues for the West India Company, if the Schenectady folk became adept in forest commerce. He withheld making surveys of the land for the settlement until the proprietors would sign a pledge "not to trade with the savages." Van Curler's partners, however, began erecting mills and houses in the spring of 1662 on the flat, which was all that was covered in the first purchase. The pledge Stuyvesant sent up for their signatures levied penalties of fifty beavers for first offense in trading; one hundred beavers for second offense, and forfeiture of lands for third offense.

Van Curler replied to this that the proprietors had been out of pocket for the lands, purchase of stock and other materials, and did not feel they should be treated "less kindly than other subjects of the Province." They asked to be allowed the continued cultivation of the lands "without any restrictions" and pointed out that no prohibition against the handling trade had been incorporated in Stuyvesant's grants in 1662 on Martin's (Van Slyck's) Island to Jan Barentsen Wemp and Jacques Cornelis Van Slyck. Unless freedom of trade were granted and the lands surveyed, Van Curler wrote, the proprietors would "be compelled to help ourselves as best we can." This bold declaration was signed by Van Curler and the others. The list of signers of this remonstrance of 1662 forms the chief record of the original proprietors. The Rev. W. N. P. Dailey names them as follows: Van Curler, Gerrit Bancker, William Teller, Martin Cornelisse Esselsteyn, Cornelis Antonissen Van Slyck, Jacques Cornelisse Van Slyck, Peter Adriaense Van Wogelum, Peter Danielse Van Olinda, Philip Hendrickse Brouwer, Teunis Cornelisse Swart, Peter

Jacobse Borsboom, Simon Volckertse Veeder, Alexander Lindsay Glen and Jan Barentsen Wemp. Barent de Winter, representing the widow of Arent Bradt, also appears in some lists.

Stuyvesant charged some of the settlers already had sold liquor to the Indians and delayed making the surveys until May, 1664. The town and lots were then laid out by the provincial surveyor, Jacques Cortelyou, and Stuyvesant passed the patent. In less than ten years the flat lands were all taken up and additional purchases became necessary. The first village was designed in four squares, each four hundred feet to a side, divided into lots two hundred by two hundred feet. Each proprietor received a lot in addition to a farm or bouwerie on the Great Flat and a garden lot on the Binnekill, the name given the bay or river channel on the west side of the town. The village was located on a spit of land jutting into the Mohawk, now the heart of the older part of the city. A ferry went to Sander Glen's house on the opposite shore. The farms or bouwlands were numbered and awarded as equally as possible. Van Curler had a tract of one hundred and fourteen acres known as the "first piece of land" in the flat, fronting on the Binnekill. Through the tract broad Erie Boulevard runs today, leading to the General Electric plant. Van Curler's house-lot was a portion of the block bounded by Union, Church, Front and Washington streets. It has been disputed that he actually lived there, since he had been occupying "The Flatts" at Watervliet, but historians now believe he became a citizen of the village in fact as well as name. His fame as a forest diplomat was great, and in 1667 he was invited to confer with Governor de Tracy, of Canada, but drowned in Lake Champlain on the way when a canoe overturned. His widow, Antonia, subsequently was awarded a tapster's license to settle a dispute between Jacques Van Slyck and Cornelis Viele.

Mindful of the new defenses of Beverwyck, the proprietors erected a palisade about the village. It extended along State Street to the east side of Ferry Street to the site of the present Episcopal church, then to the north side of Front Street just beyond Washington Avenue, to State and along State to Ferry. In 1690 the village had but two gates, one at the north end of Church Street, which opened on Front Street and the Niskayuna Road. The other gate was at the opposite side, giving access to the Albany Path (State Street), which was called Martyrs Street after the massacre of 1690, most of the bodies of the victims being found there.

The original streets included Front Street, paralleling the Mohawk at the north side of the town; Handelaars (Traders)

Street, the present Washington Avenue, at the west; Ferry Street, on the east side, leading toward the river and Albany Path (State Street), all enclosed by the wooden palisades. Church Street seems to have had its name before the erection of the first Reformed Church in 1682. A gristmill was erected by Sweer Teunisse Van Velsen on Mill Creek in 1666.

Brodhead says beaver and deer had been hunted out of the region by 1660, so the Mohawks were readier to sell. "On the other hand," he states, "many of the inhabitants of Beverwyck, where there was often a dearth of food, were anxious to settle themselves as farmers in the neighborhood of Fort Orange, yet not as dependents of the patroon of Rennselaerwyck." The influence with the Indians of the Van Slycks, Van Curler and Sanders Glen must have been valuable in the negotations.

In 1670 and 1672 it was necessary to buy additional lands, the flats having all been taken up, the settlement being in a growing condition. It is in the 1670 deed that "Schanechted" first appears as the name of the town, written "Schanhectade" in the purchase deed two years later. Up to that time apparently the community had been known as the "Great Flat" or "Corlear," the latter which was Van Curler's nickname, being the name long used by the Indians and Frenchmen to designate the town.

Thus the pioneer proprietors dropped the "Groote Vlachte" and the musical Indian equivalent, "Schonowe," for "Schanectade," a Mohawk word meaning "opening beyond the pine woods." Schoolcraft and Morgan, Iroquois authorities, say "Schanectade" was used by the aborigines as the name for Albany as well as the clearing at Schenectady, Albany being at the Hudson end of the pine woods trail from the Mohawk. There are said to be seventy-five ways of spelling the name, Cohoes postal authorities rivalling this record with a boast of more than a hundred variants. The name Schenectady, however, has been spread throughout the world by radio and its fame as an electrical center is almost universal.

The 1672 deed included an area three Dutch miles (twelve English miles) along both shores of the river westward, ending at Kinquariones, near Hoffman's Ferry, "where the Last Battell Wass between the Mohoakx and the North Indians." For this tract, payment was made to the savages of "six hundred hands of good Wheyte wampum, Six coates of Duffels, thirty barres of lead and nine bagges of Powder" by Sander Glen, former magistrate, and John Van Eps and Sweer Teunisse Van Velsen, magistrates of the town.

This area, with those previously acquired, was confirmed to the town in the Dongan Patent of 1684. The total, comprising 128 square miles, sixteen miles along the Mohawk and eight miles wide, formed the township of Schenectady.

Details of the manner in which the proprietorship was governed in the early days are lacking, though presumably magistrates were selected by mutal agreement and acted with authority of the West India Company. The Dongan charter placed the town in the hands of five trustees appointed by the Governor.

Of the original proprietors, Dr. Dailey says only seven settled on the land—Van Curler, Brouwer, Swart, Borsboom, Van Olinda, Jacques Van Slyck and the widow of Arent Bradt, but there were numerous other settlers. As might be expected, most of them came from Albany and vicinity seeking their fortune. Jan Barentsen Wemp, also known as Poest, had a farm near the present Troy in 1659 on a creek since called after him, the Poestenkill. He became one of the original Schenectady group. His widow married Sweer Teunisse Van Velsen, who settled in Schenectady in 1669.

Peter Van Wogelum was an Albany innkeeper, also known by the nickname "Sogemacklie," which was Mohawk for "Oh, so easy." His lands in Schenectady subsequently passed to Ryer Schermerhorn. Borsboom was an Albany brickmaker. His daughter resisted Sheriff Pretty when he came to search her home for Indian goods, Dr. Dailey says. William Teller lived in Albany and apparently did not take up residence in the new village. Philip Hendrickse Brouwer was in Fort Orange in 1655, joining the original Schenectady group. Another early settler was Jan Roeloffse, son of Annetje Jans; he was killed in the 1690 massacre.

Daniel Janse Van Antwerp, deputy schout at Fort Orange in 1656, went to Schenectady about 1665. He was associated with Adriaen Appel, Beverwyck tavern keeper, in the Indian trade, and in 1670 built a stone house on the Indian path along the south side of the Mohawk in Rotterdam, which still stands, and is known as the Mabie house.

In 1663, Annetje Jans Bogardus, whose first husband was Roeloff Jansen (after whom Roeloff Jansen Kill in Columbia County is named) died at her home, at present State and James streets, Albany. She disposed of her estate which included the famous sixty-two-acre Duke's Farm in Manhattan, now possessed by Trinity Church. Jansen, having first gone to Rensselaerwyck in 1636, removed to New Amsterdam on obtaining the farm patent from Van Twiller. He died

soon after and, in 1638, his widow married Domine Everardus Bogardus, clergyman at Manhattan. In 1647, on his death, she removed to Beverwyck, purchasing a house on the north side of Yonker (State) Street. Her will, written by Dirk Van Schelluyne, notary public, was subject of one of the most notable contests in legal history, through suits of descendants to obtain a share of the rich inheritance.

Esopus Indians in June, 1663, massacred the settlers at Wiltwyck, in a new outbreak, in which they killed twenty-one and carried off forty-five captives. The village had received a charter in 1661. The Province was alarmed, and defenses at Beverwyck and Schenectady strengthened. Rumors now began to be heard of an impending English invasion. Stuyvesant, at Hartford, in 1650, had ceded the Dutch territory on the Connecticut River to New England and also divided



Shoemaker House, Mohawk

Long Island, running a line through Oyster Bay, west of which continued to be held by the Dutch. The English, however, threatened to encroach further on the New Netherland boundaries, once even attempting to locate on the Hudson below Fort Orange.

There arose definite fears of an invasion from New England, and at the request of the burghers of New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant called a General Assembly there in November. A message was sent to the West India Company reminding them of their pledges to aid the defense of the province and warning of the New England danger. In the following April a second "Landtag" was called, at which Jeremias Van Rensselaer presided. Delegates from Rensselaerwyck were Van Rensselaer and Dirk Van Schelluyne, and from Fort Orange and

Beverwyck, Jan Verbeck and Gerrit Van Schlechtenhorst. The crisis appeared averted when word was received from Holland that the States General had approved the Hartford Treaty of 1650, giving New England the Connecticut River and the eastern half of Long Island, and urged making peace with them and the Indians.

This, however, was the lull before the storm. The Dutch régime was near its end. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, had he lived, might have enjoyed a last laugh. Too late it was realized that his policy of farm colonization was the surest way of developing settlement and holding territory. The Province had grown from one thousand to ten thousand population from the time Stuyvesant took over in 1647. But there was too much trade in the Dutch program and not enough settlement. New England, where fur trading was never as important, had forty thousand inhabitants by 1664.

Stuyvesant spent his time warring with the Indians, the New Englanders, the patroon, the Swedes on the Delaware (whom he had driven out). His concession of the two Landtags at the close was a hard one for his autocratic nature to bear, since he believed in the all-powerful executive. "We derive our authority from God and the Company," he once told the burghers of New Amsterdam, "not from a few ignorant subjects and we alone can call the people together."

The lack of popular rule seriously weakened the resistance of the Province in contrast with the liberality of the New England system of self-expression; nor were the varied controls exercised by the patroon and the company at the upper end of the river less a factor in the eventual outcome.

Now the tide turned. The villages that Stuyvesant had founded —Beverwyck, Schenectady and Wiltwyck—were to have a new destiny. Suddenly they were relieved of payment of further tithes to the West India Company or of responding to Stuyvesant's commands. The event that brought this about was nothing less than the arrival of an English fleet off Fort Amsterdam on August 19, 1664, under command from His Royal Highness, James, Duke of York and Albany, to seize New Netherland. The era that followed was to be strikingly eventful in the history of the New World. Beverwyck was to become a forest capital of far-reaching influence. Upon Schenectady was to fall a heavy penalty for taking up an exposed outpost in the wilderness. And wars of conquest were to fill the land from which a great liberty was to emerge.

CHAPTER VIII

New Netherland Falls to the English

Significance of the Bold Seizure of the Province by the Duke of York and Albany Under Royal Grant—Basis for English "Claims"—Queen Elizabeth's Dictum—Duke's Plot of Conquest—Stuyvesant, Outnumbered, Surrenders—New York and Albany Named—Remarkable Terms of Capitulation—Patroon Renews His Claim to Albany—Dutch Retake the Province, 1673-74, But Lose It Again—Van Curler Dies—Tribute to Pioneers.

"Few princes appear to have more justly merited the loss of the attachment of their subjects than did James II of England. Neither instructed by the sad example of his father nor by the infelicities of his brother, to his natural aversion to popular rights he added that fondness for personal power which he had acquired during his exile in his youth and which had been confirmed during the prosperity of his riper years."

So wrote the Scottish historian, George Chalmers. The statement is not inserted gratuitously. It was this James, brother of Charles II, and son of Charles I, beheaded in the Revolution of 1649, who as Duke of York and Albany in 1664 obtained the notorious grant to the Province of New Netherland. It was this James also who was ruled off the throne by a council of state in 1689, Prince William Henry of Orange being invited to take over the English Crown in his stead.

The seizure of New Netherland, which completely altered the destiny of the Dutch establishment on the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, stands out as one of the territorial piracies of history, yet one that was accompanied by a remarkable and enlightened statesmanship in the treatment of a conquered people. King Charles and the Duke of York and Albany were responsible for the seizure. The meed of praise for the extraordinary handling of the capitulation and the magnanimous accommodation arranged for the people goes to the Groom of the Royal Bedchamber, Colonel Richard Nicolls, who was

named commander of the expedition and the Duke's Deputy Governor of the Province.

Historians almost universally denounce the taking of New Netherland as the more heinous, since it was executed without a formal declaration of war, thus giving the Dutch no chance to defend themselves. Modern conflict offers a parallel for such methods, indicating the slow course of progress in international affairs.

The conquest has been often minimized for varied reasons, possibly as too remote to be of service through example in present-day life. The consequences of the step, however, were of exceptional importance, since they paved the way for the American Revolution. In 1664 it was determined that the Dutch control should pass, and the English thereafter should rule the colonies from Virginia to the French-Canadian border. The people thus being unified could work out their own destiny under more favorable circumstances. And as it happened, their concept of liberation from overseas domination rose with each revolving year. In the eventual crisis, as certain authorities have noted, the "Dutch belt" extending along the Mohawk and Hudson proved invaluable in sustaining the hands of General Washington, and keeping St. Leger and Johnny Burgoyne out of Albany. The question which will always go unanswered is whether any of these things would have come about had the Dutch flung back the English sailors in September, 1664, at Fort Amsterdam, at the lower end of the Hudson.

In their bold claims to territorial title to New Netherland the English were long persistent. But their citations were a bit mixed, and in those days of parchment grants and indefinite, overlapping boundaries, where one domain began and another ended was a real question.

The tendency, of course, was to claim everything in sight. Thus England hung her peg to the New World on the explorations of Giovanni Caboto, generally referred to as the Englishman, John Cabot, but actually a Venetian, who struck the Labrador coast in 1497. It is interesting to note that in order to substantiate this claim, King Henry VII, who was a Catholic, had to divorce himself both from Catholicism and the Pope. Well-known was the bull of Pope Alexander VI which, after Columbus' voyage, drew a line down the middle of the Atlantic, giving the eastern half to Portugal and the western half to Spain.

Queen Elizabeth, in 1580, followed this up by denying the Spanish pretensions to the New World, asserting the principle that "discov-

ery and prescription unless accompanied by possession are of no avail." Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, set out to colonize the land Cabot had found, but accomplished little more than to claim Newfoundland officially as English soil in 1583. Raleigh's explorers in 1584 landed in North Carolina, taking possession, and giving Elizabeth so glowing an account of the wilderness that she named it Virginia. Raleigh's settlement at Roanoke Island ended in disaster in 1590, the Colony being obliterated almost without trace.

In 1606, King James I of England issued patents to two corporations, the Virginia Company of Plymouth and the Virginia Company of London. The London Company was allowed to plant a Colony at any place on the coast of America "not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people" between the thirty-fourth and forty-first parallels of latitude, with permission to occupy one hundred miles of shorefront, all islands one hundred miles east and with no western limit.

The Plymouth Company received a similar grant between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth parallels. These two domains thus overlapped, but there was a stipulation that the companies could not plant colonies within one hundred miles of each other. Thus from Cape Fear to the Bay of Fundy, England by "parchment rights" claimed America. In 1609 James gave the London Company all the land from two hundred miles south of Old Point Comfort west to the Pacific Ocean; and in 1620 the Plymouth Company, redesignated as the Council for New England, was allotted all territory between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels—Philadelphia to the Bay of Fundy—and westward to the Pacific, another sea-to-sea charter! The fact that permanent settlement up to 1620 had actually touched but one point, Jamestown, Virginia, where Captain John Smith established a colony in 1607, seemed not to impress James I. Where, indeed, was the Elizabethan code that occupation was requisite to make discoveries good!

Such was the substance of the English claims, and since they had not actually tapped the Hudson River section at any point, this was, by Elizabeth's own doctrine, *terra incognita,* and therefore open to whoso should claim it first. The persistent charges that were raised by the English, from 1620 on, that the Dutch were "interlopers" and "trespassers" on the King's land were sheerest buncombe. Henry Hudson, in 1609, certainly was no miscreant explorer. He had made an intelligent examination of the Atlantic coast, carefully avoiding

intrusion on his fellow-kinsmen on the James River, discovering Delaware Bay and pursuing the Hudson River above the Highlands, first white man to do so as far as recorded exploration goes. The proof of Hudson's claims was immediately furnished in the trading voyages from Amsterdam to the "River of the Mountains" that followed; in the erection of Fort Van Nassau at Castle Island in 1614, all attested in the Dutch records. The States General of Holland in granting the octroi of October 11, 1614, to the United New Netherland Company, first giving a name to the region, asserted clearly no Christian princes were trading there or held any outpost. The Dutch thereafter maintained factors on the Hudson continuously until the formation of the Dutch West India Company in 1621, followed by the Fort Orange settlement in 1624.

The English had plenty of opportunity to colonize between Newfoundland and Virginia, and did try the Sagadahoc settlement in Maine, which proved unsuccessful. That was their fateful omission. Not until 1614 did Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of the Plymouth Company, send Captain John Smith to explore the New England coast. But Englishmen still knew little of Hudson's River until Dermer's voyage in the spring of 1620, referred to in a previous chapter. Returning from a voyage to Virginia, Dermer cruised into New York Bay and found some Dutch traders there, warning them that they were "trespassing" on territory belonging to the English Crown. The Dutchmen truthfully said they had seen no Englishmen in that part of the world. They were polite enough to add that they hoped they had not offended, or so Dermer quoted them when he returned home. The reputed voyage of Captain Samuel Argall, of Virginia, to Manhattan in 1613, when he allegedly found "four houses built and a pretended Dutch Governor," and ordered them to submit to the King of England, has been belied by other evidences, including Dermer's own voyage, which indicates how ignorant was the royal council of the Dutch occupancy.

But what the English lacked in facts they made up in other ways. In 1627, Governor Minuit of New Netherland, seeking to open friendly trade relations with New England, sent an ambassador to Boston, who met the query from Governor Bradford: Have the Dutch the right to trade or plant within New England, which "extends to forty degrees?" Said Minuit: "As the English claim authority under the King of England, so we derive ours from the States of Holland and will defend it." The matter was passed over lightly just then, but in 1640, the English minister at The Hague, learning of the

progress of the Dutch colonizing on the Hudson, advised his home government to "crowd the Dutch out."

In 1649 the matter was succinctly set forth in a remonstrance of the people of New Netherland to the "High and Mighty Lords States General" of Holland, in the preamble of which they related the opening of the country but forty years before. They wrote:

> "In the year Christ 1609 was the country of which we now propose to speak first found and discovered at the expense of the General East India Company—though directing their aim and design elsewhere—by the ship 'Halve Maen' whereof Henry Hudson was master and factor.
>
> "It was afterward named New Netherland by our people, taken possession of by New Netherlanders and at their expense so that even at the present day the natives of the country who are so old as to remember the event, testify that on seeing the Dutch ships on their first coming here, they knew not what to make of them, whether they came down from heaven or were devils. Some of them on its first approach, even imagined it to be a fish or some sea-monster, so that a strange rumor concerning it flew through the whole country. We have heard the Indians also frequently say that they knew of no other world or people previous to the arrival of the Netherlanders here."

As a factual account, written by occupants of New Netherland who were there early enough to get the actual story, the record is as convincing as it is valuable. The world has long since accepted the validity of Hudson's exploration, as it has challenged the absurdity that a monarch sitting at a table in Europe could by a stroke of a pen on parchment divide or set bounds to a land his people had never trod. But James I and the two Charleses after him were playing the game their own way. They were very definite that when a sea-to-sea grant was set up for New England, the King's power in the New World was superior and it was too bad for those who interfered—even if the latter had been there first. So thoroughly was this theory impressed on the New England officials that they shortly began to harass the Dutch and encroach persistently on New Netherland. Governor Stuyvesant, in 1650, endeavored to halt the aggressions with the convention of Hartford, in which the Dutch gave up all but actually occupied land at the pioneer post they had located there as Fort Good Hope in 1633. Stuyvesant, to keep peace, fixed the Connecticut line at Greenwich, running twenty miles up into the country,

with the provision the New Englanders should not come within ten miles of the Hudson River. But the English government never ratified the treaty and the Holland government was slow in doing so. In 1659 Massachusetts began driving its claims to sea-to-sea possession and proclaimed boundaries that would have included New Netherland between the present Pennsylvania State line and Oswego. The New England group even attempted to settle near Fort Orange, but were frightened off by the Dutch commander, who refused them permission to sail on the river.

The actual reasons for the seizure of the Province were quite different. James, Duke of York and Albany, has gone into history as a grasping sort of individual. He had been in Holland as a refugee after the execution of Charles I, and had taken a dislike to the Dutch. He was also president of the English African Company, a trade rival of the Dutch West India Company. Mainly, however, the Dutch had been too successful and had become a sore spot in the New World for the English trading organizations. The position of the Province between New England and Virginia made it attractive to the trade of both, and as a result it was computed the Hollanders were drawing the tobacco trade from Virginia at an annual loss to the royal merchants of $50,000 a year, and as much more from New England. By trading through Holland, the merchants and ship owners in the neighboring provinces were avoiding English duties. Moreover, the Dutch on the Hudson and Mohawk had a fast grip on the fur trade which could be counted on for $50,000 to $100,000 a year, depending on the activity of the savages.

The crisis rapidly developed when, in 1662, the Dutch were driven out of Brazil by the Portuguese after a long struggle. The Dutch West India Company, led by the valiant Prince Maurice, had put up a strong battle, but its finances had been sapped thereby. This furnished the Duke with his grand moment. Gathering a group of satellites at court, he mapped a plan. Now was the time to get the King to give him New Netherland and clean up the troublesome matter of American trade at one swoop. The Dutch, in their weakened condition, would be unable to strike back. On second thought, they wouldn't even have to be disturbed. As lord admiral he could order out the English fleet without a declaration of war. So the Dutch needn't know of his intentions, until too late to do anything about it. All he had to do was to sail over to New Netherland and take it!

The inglorious scheme was steered by Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Among the conspirators were George Baxter, former English secre-

tary to Governor Stuyvesant, and who had been run out of the Province on a charge of treason; John Scott, who had been stirring up trouble on Long Island against the Dutch; and Samuel Maverick, a New Englander.

Scott soon reappeared in New Netherland, inciting the Long Islanders to revolt and set up an independent government. A threatening movement also was launched from Connecticut. In the emergency, Stuyvesant for the first time yielded to popular demand and called Landtags, or Assemblies, in 1663 and 1664. Just how the delegates were chosen does not appear. But those who assembled at Fort Amsterdam were outstanding in their communities and men of good judgment. Comparing their ten thousand population with the forty thousand in New England, they realized that any aid must come from the home government. Jeremias Van Rensselaer, the patroon, as dean of the colonists, presided at the 1664 meeting. Beyond preparing a stiff appeal to the West India Company, reminding the authorities of their agreement to defend the Province in time of war, and recommending peace be made as quickly as possible with the Indians, who had been behaving badly on the upper river, the Landtag did little, though representing the initial democratic parliament of the Dutch régime. The trouble was that the West India Company was beyond the point of giving aid just then, and it was grasping at straws.

The actual conquest was carried out swiftly enough. The grant of the Province by King Charles II to his brother James, with royal seals attached, was rushed through the Privy Council and the King's hand in a week, it is related. The grant was dated March 12, 1664. In a generous manner, the King gave James "all that Island or Islands commonly called by the several name or names of Matowacks or Long Island" and the "River called Hudson's River, and all the land from the West side of Connecticut to the east side of Delaware Bay."

No less swift was the Duke. He ordered ready a fleet consisting of four ships, the "Guinea," of thirty-six guns; "Elias," of thirty guns; "Martin," sixteen guns, and "William and Nicholas," ten guns, and placed 450 soldiers and officers on board, besides the complement of sailors. For commander he selected Colonel Richard Nicolls, Groom of the Royal Bedchamber, with whom he had seen foreign service. This faithful royalist was to act as Deputy Governor after the Dutch possessions should be taken. Others in the expedition were Sir George Carr, Colonel George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, who were named commissioners to "require" aid from New England.

Carr, as it turned out, was brutal to the Dutch and Swedes he captured on the Delaware. Nicolls and Cartwright were executives of a high order, the latter being the one who received the submission of Fort Orange and Beverwyck.

Warning had been given of the approach of the fleet. As early as July eighth a message from Boston told of its departure a few weeks before from Portsmouth, England, for New Amsterdam. New Netherland for a time was thrown into a panic. Stuyvesant hastily set forces at work repairing Fort Amsterdam, while calling on Fort Orange and Wiltwyck for powder and lead. He asked a cash contri-



Kingfisher Tower, Otsego Lake, Cooperstown

bution of 5,000 or 6,000 guilders besides from Rensselaerwyck and took soldiers from Wiltwyck. Fort Orange could spare no powder in view of the Mohawk and Mahikan hostilities. Some of the patroon's cattle in Greenbush had been burned and settlers were fleeing to the protection of the fort village. The Fort Orange magistrates had heard of the British approach from Indians, who told them the Province was to be invaded, an instance of the effectiveness of the "forest grapevine."

The magistrates wrote to Governor Stuyvesant:

> "Respecting what you have been pleased to communicate to us concerning the frigates, we have scarcely any doubt of

> the probability of their coming to attack us, as appears from the reports of the Indians and the declarations made here to this court. . . . . Respecting the supply of powder and lead which your honors have been pleased to request, the Director and Council will be so good as to consider that in this emergency we have the greatest need of what is very scarce here."

At this juncture when defensive preparations should have been pressed with all energy, Stuyvesant received a letter from the West India Company deprecating hostile intentions on the part of the English fleet. Instead of conquest, the home authorities said, the expedition was only for the purpose of establishing the Episcopal religion in New England. This change, the Dutch officials held, would so affect the New Englanders that "they will not give us hereafter so much trouble, but will prefer to live free under us at peace with their consciences, than to fall again under a government from which they had formerly fled."

This amazing interpretation of the invasion plan could scarcely have been more effective if planted by a "fifth columnist." Yet it apparently had been accepted at face value by the Dutch Company and Stuyvesant likewise believed it. Dropping the fort defenses, he went up the river to straighten out the Indian troubles at Fort Orange. While he was there, the "big black English frigates" reached the harbor of New Amsterdam, anchored below the Narrows, and after taking a Staten Island blockhouse, demanded the surrender of the Province of New Netherland in the name of the Duke of York and Albany and his royal majesty, Charles II. Stuyvesant, who had hastened down the river, sent a note back to Fort Orange describing the presence of the fleet.

> "The naval and military force from Old England" [he wrote in Dutch] "is estimated at seventeen hundred. Some say two thousand, in addition to the crowd daily expected from New England. You can easily imagine in what a state of embarrassment and anxiety we find ourselves without hope of any relief. Therefore this serves chiefly to warn your honors and all friends particularly and mainly not to send down any beavers nor peltries for fear of their falling into the hands of the English."

The letter reveals Stuyvesant felt the situation hopeless, but he did not surrender easily. For ten days he kept the fleet waiting while

he stormed about. He tore up a letter from Colonel Nicolls offering terms of surrender, but the citizens learning of it, quit work on the fort and assembled at city hall, demanding the contents be made public. When they found the terms amicable, they demanded Stuyvesant surrender.

English volunteers from Long Island and New England were landed from the ships on the Brooklyn shore, and Nicolls, tiring of the Governor's dallying, ordered Captain Hyde to reduce the fort. Two of the frigates floated down upon it. Fort Amsterdam mounted but twenty-four guns, had 400 pounds of powder and but 150 regular soldiers besides about 250 men in the city able to bear arms. It is told that Stuyvesant was standing beside his gunners, who held matches lighted awaiting the signal to fire, when Domine Megapolensis, former pastor at Rensselaerwyck, and his brother, Samuel, persuaded the Governor not to shed blood uselessly and to strike the Dutch tricolor.

On September 6, 1664, at his bouwery (from which the present street takes its name), Stuyvesant signed the articles of capitulation. Two days later, at eight o'clock in the morning, at the head of the garrison, he marched out of the fort with rolling drums and all honors of war, going to the waterside to embark for Holland. The English soldiers entered the city at once, hoisting the King's flag.

The great change had come. New Amsterdam received from Nicolls the name "New York." Fort Amsterdam became "Fort James." Fort Orange and Beverwyck surrendered two days later. Johannes de Decker, fleeing Manhattan, endeavored to stir resistance at the upper end of the river, but the Dutch there were no more impractical than those below in the face of overwhelming odds. Colonel Nicolls sent Colonel Cartwright, Captain John Manning and Captain Daniel Brodhead with a small body of soldiers to Fort Orange with a letter addressed "To the present Deputy Governor, or the magistrates and inhabitants of ffort Aurania," which read:

> "These are to will and require you and every of you to bee ayding and assisting to Col. George Cartwright on the prosecution of his Majesty's interest against all such of what nation soever as shall oppose the peaceable surrender and quiet possession of ffort Aurania and to obey him, the said Col. George Cartwright according to such instructions as I have given him in case the Mohawks or other Indyans shall attempt any thing against the lives, goods or chattels of those

> who are now under the protection and obedience of His Majesty of Great Britaine; wherefore you nor any of you are to fayle as you will answer the contrary at your utmost perills."

Johannes La Montagne, the Vice-Director of the Province, yielded up the fort when the letter was presented. The blue, white and orange emblem of the United Provinces of Holland came slowly down in the little wooden enclosure on the Hudson's shore. While the populace silently gazed, the King's flag rose to the top of the staff. Thus swiftly the sovereignty changed at the river's tidal head. The name "Albany" was given to the village of Beverwyck. Fort Orange became "Fort Albany," in honor of the second title of the Duke of York. The name is perhaps the most memorable in English history. Long being a term for the Scotch Highlands, the royal title of Duke of Albany originated at Scone in 1398, when King Robert III bestowed it on his brother, the Earl of Fife. Chambers and other authorities say that "Albany" is a variant spelling of "Albainn" or "Albion," the earliest name of Britain as used by the Celts.

The terms of surrender almost made up for the indelicacy of the seizure, revealing a surpassing statesmanship and sympathetic understanding for the feelings of the people that speak highly of the character of Colonel Nicolls. They were as nearly painless as was humanly possible. Almost nothing was to be disturbed, immediately. The inhabitants were permitted to "freely injoy" their homes and farms. All people should "continue free denizens and shall injoy their lands, goods wheresoever they are within this country and dispose of them as they please."

Any who desired to remove to the homeland or elsewhere were allowed a year and six months to do so. Trade was granted with Netherland and with England for all. Dutch vessels and colonists were welcomed. It was provided also that "the Dutch shall injoy the liberty of their conscience in divine worship, and church discipline." No Dutchman should be impressed for war duty "against any nation whatsoever." Present inferior civil officers and magistrates were to continue until new elections came due when new ones should be "chosen by themselves," provided they take the oath of allegiance to "his majesty of England." Dutch soldiers were offered fifty acres each if they cared to settle and become farmers. All differences in contracts in force were to be determined in the Dutch manner. And the Dutch were to retain their own customs regarding inheritances.

One may wonder whether there could have been a fairer or wiser settlement. Relaxing no authority, it nevertheless provided for a peaceable transition from one loyalty to another. For Nicolls it may be said that during the four years he remained as Deputy Governor for the Duke, he won exceptional regard from the people he came to conquer. He has been called "one of the most genial and attractive figures in Colonial American history." Certainly, had men of his calibre remained at the control of British policy, American development might have been vastly different.

Nicolls visited Albany in 1664 and again in 1665, when he licensed John Shutte as the English schoolmaster. At the same time he approved Jan Jurrianse Becker as teacher in the Dutch school. There had been Dutch schoolmasters since 1650, when Adrian Jansen was appointed instructor in the school conducted by the Dutch Reformed Church, and domines had taught students prior to that time. The Governor named Captain John Baker the chief officer of the town of Albany as well as fort commander. In a letter of instruction he directed the officer to keep good order and discipline, yet not to carry heated grievances into the town court.

"Let not your eares be abused with private storyes of ye Dutch being disaffected to ye English," wrote this wise man, "for generally wee can not expect they love us."

With Jeremias Van Rensselaer, director of Rensselaerwyck, Colonel Nicolls had several negotiations. He provisionally granted a manorial patent for the Colonie, pending royal decision on the matter, but deprived Van Rensselaer of judicial powers, merging the manorial court with that of Albany. An attempt by the patroon's agent to reclaim title to the land on which the village of Albany stood, and which Stuyvesant had so forcibly taken a dozen years before to found a free community, met with a sharp rebuke.

In a letter addressed to "Monsieur Renzelaer" in 1666, Governor Nicolls wrote:

> "By the date of yr letter from Renzelaerwicke in Albany October the 25th I perceive that you conclude the Towne of Albany to be a part of Renzelaerwicke.
>
> "I give you freindly advice not to grasp at too much authority and you may probably obtain the post more to your profit. I have lately returned an answer to His R.H.s last letters and doubt not of his finall determination of all matters relating to this Jurisdiction in May next; if you imagine

there is pleasure in titles of government I wish that I could serve your appetite, for I have found onely trouble.

"You seeme to plead for a succession to your brother Baptista as of right belonging to you. I will make answer in a Latin verse which in some sort you may apply: *Filius ante diem Patrios inquirii in annos.*

"Let there be no Controversies of this nature betweene you and mee who will in all reasonable things serve you. Sett your hearth therefore at rest to bee contented with the profit not the government of a Colony, till we heare from His Royall Highness."

He closed the letter, "My service to yr wife, yr Brother and Monsr Curler. I am Yr. affte friend, R. Nicolls."

To the credit of Jeremias it may be said that he declined to consider a suggestion by Governor Nicolls that would have enabled him to hold the manorial patent in his own name, thus excluding his brother Baptiste and other heirs in Holland. Nicolls pointed out that in event of a war with Holland, which seemed likely after the taking of New Netherland, the estate if patented to Dutch heirs would undoubtedly be confiscated by the English. Jeremias refused the proposal, however, and insisted that the family interest in the estate be continued. The patent does not appear to have been granted until Colonel Dongan's time, twenty years later.

With the introduction of the Duke's laws, New York became a dukedom in legal structure, remaining such until 1684 when, on the ascent of James II to the throne, it became a Royal Province. The Dutch accepted the new conditions phlegmatically and made little trouble for the English, finding there was no disposition to alter their modes and livelihoods.

The change was accepted with similar calm in Schenectady, where the proprietors under the Dutch patent issued by Stuyvesant found themselves relieved of the necessity of turning over their land titles to the West India Company and paying tithes thereto. The settlement, known as "Corlear" until that time, and possibly until 1670 when additional lands were acquired, continued on its way with Arent Van Curler as its leader. It is supposed that Van Curler, whose house was at Union and Church streets, held an office in the community, although the title of it has remained a mystery. It was not until twenty years later that formal title to the common lands of the village was placed in the hands of trustees for administrative purposes.

Van Curler is entitled to a greater place in history than he has ever received, as a Colonial leader and devotee of freedom. His abilities were quickly recognized by Governor Nicolls and, in 1667, he was on his way to Canada at Nicolls' request with a message to de Tracy, the French Governor, when he met untimely death by drowning in Lake Champlain.

His loss was a heavy one to the young community at Schenectady as well as to the Province. Van Curler, as a relative of the Van Rensselaers, had come over from Holland initially to serve as an executive of the patroon's colonie. He became commissary-general, a post in which he learned the ins and outs of the feudal system. During his service of several years in the colonie he loyally protected the patroon's interest, having been the author of the proposal to erect Fort Rensselaerstein at Baeren Island in 1644 to keep outside merchants from interfering with the patroon's fur trade.

He had leased the estate known as "The Flatts" at the present Watervliet in 1648, obligating himself to pay yearly rent of $200 in beaver skins or grain plus one-tenth of the fruits and products raised. In winter, by the leasehold terms, he was required to cut wood for the patroon—ten pieces of oak or fir and bring it to the river shore—and as quit rent was annually required to pay two bushels of wheat, twenty-five pounds of butter and two pairs of fowls to "my lord patroon, hereditary commander of the colonies on the North River" as the formal title was stated.

These were customary requirements of the patroon's tenants. Van Curler accepted them at the time, and the probability is that there was considerable laxity in the enforcement of all provisions, as the records of the Colony indicate. Nevertheless, these experiences filled him with the idea of establishing a community which would be separate from the feudal restrictions, resulting in his founding of Schenectady.

Clearly indicating his desire to lift the feudal barriers, was his statement in a letter to Stuyvesant protesting the ban imposed by the Governor on the settlers in the new community against trading with the Indians for furs or other goods. Appealing for free trading privileges without discrimination, Van Curler wrote:

> "It would be lamentable were the settlers and their posterity to remain forever under the ban of slavery and be excluded from bartering their bread, milk or the produce of their farms for a beaver so as to be able to purchase some covering for their bodies and their houses."

Such was the far-sighted view of the Holland-born founder of a community in the New World. Van Curler was one of the leading figures of Colonial times, a trader and skilled forest diplomat, so highly regarded by the Iroquois that they named Governors of New York after him, addressing them as "Corlear." His rescue of Father Jogues, his ability to keep the Mohawks from the warpath when uprisings seemed imminent, indicated his standing among the aborigines.

As Van Curler passed from the scene, in Albany a new figure was rising, the eminent Peter Schuyler, who like Van Curler became a noted trader and Indian negotiator. Born under the Dutch régime in Rensselaerwyck, Peter Schuyler, son of the founder of the family line in America, became the first mayor of Albany when it was created a city in the wilderness. Later he headed the provincial council.

With Van der Donck, one time schout or prosecutor of Rensselaerwyck, who afterward led the demand for popular rights in New Amsterdam, these two leaders typify the quality of citizenship evidenced in the Dutch régime. Historians frequently assert that the early safety of the colonies in America rested often upon the sagacity of Van Curler and Schuyler in dealing with the savages.

One of the criticisms leveled against Governor Stuyvesant sprang from his apparent religious intolerance. He issued proclamations against harboring Quakers and also against the Lutherans. The latter had been meeting in Fort Orange as early as 1657. The protest of the Lutherans, however, when made to the home government, brought an immediate response. The West India Company directors ordered Stuyvesant to publish no more placards without their consent, but "permit everyone the free exercise of his religion within his own house." In 1669 the Lutheran congregation in Albany bought a plot at Howard and South Pearl streets, where they erected their first edifice.

Reviewing the Dutch period, which now comes to a close, it is possible to see that Stuyvesant's autocratic attitude cost him popular support at a time of crisis. Nevertheless, the Province of New Netherland was known among New Englanders as a refuge from the intolerance which arose in the eastern Colony at various times.

While the Dutch were undoubtedly envious of the annual elections in the New England communities, there were no such experiences among them as those resulting in the departure of Roger Williams, the Rev. Thomas Hooker and Anne Hutchinson to other localities. Recent authorities assert that but one-third of the "Mayflower" pas-

sengers were Puritans, interfering somewhat with the notion that the Plymouth settlement was wholly a search for spiritual freedom. It has also been contended that the Puritans sought religious liberty for themselves, but questioned it for others. As to the relative extent of democracy in New England, it is recalled that the famous Cotton Mather said:

> "I do not conceive that ever God did ordain democracy as a fit government for church or commonwealth. If the people are governors, who shall be governed?"

It is hard to find much difference between this statement and Stuyvesant's declaration of authority derived from God and the West India Company, not from "a few ignorant subjects."

The dictators of modern times have raised the same question as to the fitness or ability of the people to rule—evidence enough that the lessons of the American frontier and of American independence have not had their final victory.

The Dutch hope for reconquest of New Netherland was realized briefly in 1673, when a fleet of twenty-three sail and one thousand six hundred troops appeared off Staten Island and after a broadside fired at Fort James, which killed several English soldiers, retook the post as handily as the English had taken it from the Dutch nine years before.

Fort Albany surrendered for the second time on August 5, 1673, and was renamed "Fort Nassau," while the village of Albany was named "Willemstadt." New York City was called "New Orange." For the first time the Province was in the hands of the States-General directly. Captain Anthony Colve, as Governor, with the two fleet admirals, Evertsen and Benckes, formed the council. Lieutenant Andries Draeyer, on September twenty-fifth, was made commander of Fort Nassau and schout of Willemstadt and Rensselaerwyck. The patroon was granted the same privileges as he held under the English.

The jubilation was short-lived, however, since by the Treaty of Westminster, February 19, 1674, all lands taken by the United Netherlands from Great Britain during the war were ordered returned. Colve, on November tenth, redelivered the Province to his English successor, Major Edmond Andros.

So the Province of New Netherland finally passed into history. Rather plaintively Jeremias Van Rensselaer recorded the English conquest in a letter to his brother overseas with the remark:

"Now it seems that it has pleased the Lord that we must learn English."

It was, indeed, to be many years before English would finally come into its own. As late as 1772 no English sermon was preached in the Dutch Reformed Church in Albany.



View of the Hudson River and the Catskills from Promenade Hill, Hudson

Admitting the faults of the Dutch régime, of which the West India Company came in for its share through a "mercantile and selfish spirit," and the feudal system likewise had its obvious drawbacks, Brodhead, the official historian of the Dutch period in New York State, has said:

> "The popular voice coming from far across the sea was heard and respected in the palace at The Hague; and the grievances of the earnest remonstrants were from time to time abated by the interference of the States General.
>
> "Against all the withering influences under which they laid the broad foundations of a mighty state, the colonists of New

Netherland steadily achieved their own purposes, and by degrees won for themselves the franchises of their brethren who remained at home.

"The emigrants who first explored the coast and reclaimed the soil of New Netherland and bore the flag of Holland to the wigwams of the Iroquois were generally bluff, plain-spoken, earnest yet unpresumptuous men, who spontaneously left their native land to better their condition and bind another province to the United Netherland.

"They brought over with them the liberal ideas and honest and homely virtues of their country. They introduced their church and their schools, their Domines and their schoolmasters. . . . . They were more accustomed to do than to boast; nor have their descendants been ambitious to invite and appropriate excessive praise for the services their ancestors rendered in extending the limits of Christendom and in stamping upon America its distinguishing features of freedom in religion and liberality in political faith."

CHAPTER IX

The Iroquois Alliance

The Ancient Friendship of Red Men and White—The "Unbroken Treaty"—How the Iroquois Came to New York State, and Why—Hiawatha Founds the Iroquois League of Peace—Vale of Tawasentha—Mohawk Castles—Father Jogues Martyred—Kateri Tekakwitha, "Lily of the Mohawks"—Iroquois Nature Worship—Place Names—Mound Builders—Algonkin Invasion—The Mahikan Villages—Indian Account of Henry Hudson's Voyage—Battle of Kinaquariones—Algonkin Place Names—Women's Place in the Tribes—Reasons for the Covenant Chain.

The friendship of the Dutch fur traders with the Iroquois, most powerful Indian confederacy in America, is one of the key facts of Capital Region history.

Formed soon after the establishment of Fort Van Nassau, at the site of modern Albany, this attachment became a deciding factor in Colonial development. The pact, made to provide for the peaceable bartering of peltry, was without a parallel for the faithfulness of its observance. Though it was often strained, it was never abrogated, and survived more than a century of fierce warfare. This alliance was by all odds the most important contribution of the Dutch to American progress, though the pioneers could not have foreseen its whole significance. It not only safeguarded Albany above all other points on the continent, but was the bond that held the fierce Iroquois loyal to the Dutch-English cause in the crucial time when a French-Iroquois alliance could have driven all the English colonies into the sea.

Commenting on the steadiness with which this allegiance was maintained between the white men and red, Cadwallader Colden wrote in the mid-eighteenth century: "History cannot give an instance of the most Christian kings observing a treaty so strictly and for so long a time as these barbarians, as they are called, have done."

And Morgan, in "The League of the Iroquois," noting the "singular fidelity" of the Iroquois toward the covenant, said it was "pre-

served unbroken until the independence of the American states terminated the jurisdiction of the English over the country."

It is to the everlasting credit of the Dutch, who began the alliance, that a firm foundation was laid, based on a human understanding and law, rather than on fire and the sword. In other colonies the aborigines were massacred and put to the torch, but at Albany the Dutch followed a different and kindlier policy. On this account the city was raised to a high dignity and esteem among the savages. In 1684 the Iroquois named it their treaty house or "House of Peace"—the place where they would conduct their negotiations with the white colonies, making it literally a wilderness capital—one of the strangest capitals, certainly, in history. Because of the hold its leaders had over the savages, in 1686 when Albany was made a city, the charter gave to the municipality control of the fur trade to the northward and westward as far as the King's domains extended. And it was due to this ancient alliance that in 1754 Albany was chosen for the meeting place of the first great Colonial Congress. This was the historic assemblage at which a treaty was made with the Iroquois so firmly that "neither thunder nor lightning could break it," and which adopted Franklin's Plan of Union for Colonial defense, which became the foundation stone of the United States of America.

These were some of the fruits of the friendship, but there were many more. Because the Iroquois cast their lot with the Dutch and English, the French found their aims of conquest blocked, and drove again and again at the Iroquois castles, scattered from the Mohawk to Niagara, and against Albany in an effort to shatter the alliance. All about, at Deerfield, Hadley and other New England towns, at Schenectady, Beukendaal, German Flats, Saratoga and Hoosick, there were horrible massacres. But the enemy never broke through to the place of the ancient compact. And because the "House of Peace" stood safely through the Colonial wars, the French were never able to conquer the forest domain. The story of this alliance is one that particularly belongs to the Capital Region since the key actors from the beginning, as well as in Sir William Johnson's time, when in 1755 the Albany council fire was moved to Mount Johnson in the Mohawk Valley, were distinguished residents of this locality.

The precise date of the original pact of the Iroquois with the Dutch traders is not known, but various authorities, including Brodhead, assert the Treaty of Tawasentha, solemnized in 1618 at the foot of the Normanskill, where Fort Van Nassau then stood, near the south end of Albany, was the probable beginning of amicable rela-

tions. This was a general treaty at which were present not only the Dutch and the five chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy, but representatives of neighboring Mahikan, Delaware, Minsees and Minnisink tribes of the Hudson River region. The latter, Algonkins all, were subject to the Iroquois even at that early time, it appears from Brodhead's record which asserts that during the ceremony the great peace belt of wampum was held at one end by the Dutch traders, led by Jacob Eelkens, commander of the fort; at the other end by the Iroquois chiefs, while in between stood the Mahikan, Delaware and other tribal delegates, the belt resting on their shoulders as a mark of their subject condition. At the close of the rites, after the peace pipe had been smoked and the hatchets hurled into the ground, in appreciation of the importance of the event, the Dutch promised to build a church on the site. From this compact, or one effected about the same time, the fur trade with the native tribes of both the Mohawk and Hudson valleys was placed on an established basis. The Dutch, as it turned out, did not build the church on that site, but in 1642 erected one about two miles north, in what was then the village of Fort Orange, which became Albany's First Reformed Church, the second oldest of its kind in the Nation.

Beauchamp doubts the Tawasentha Treaty on the ground that the Mohawks and the Mahikan, or River Indians, were only temporarily at peace, and war between them flared out a few years later. Yet the record of treaty conferences at Albany reveals many references by native spokesmen to the "ancient fire of friendship" lighted between them and the white traders soon after Hudson's voyage. "Trade and peace we take to mean the same thing," an Iroquois orator said at one of the conferences. Hence it may have been that the Iroquois felt no impropriety in including the Mahikan and Delawares in the treaty formalities. In 1701, when the Iroquois placed their Ohio hunting lands under protection of the British Crown at an Albany conference, they dated the original friendship from more than eighty years before, or approximately 1620. Nor should it be overlooked that Fort Van Nassau had been established in 1614, and it is doubtful if fur trading in that region could have been successfully continued had not the Dutchmen reached an amicable understanding with the Iroquois, whose castles lay forty miles or more away on the Mohawk, and were a highly important factor in forest life.

Significant as was the Iroquois-Dutch Alliance, the willingness of the proud savages to enter into such a compact was even more so, since this revealed the motive for the white man's welcome. To find

the real basis for the acceptance of the Dutch, we must learn the causes of the hatred of the Algonkin and Iroquois which served the Dutch and English so well, and which is really the prologue of the founding of free America. Had the Indians possessed a written language our knowledge of their origin and history would be ample. But the tribes depended on their memories and transmitted traditions by word of mouth from one generation to another. It is commonly said that the great cause of hatred between the Iroquois of New York State and the Algonkin tribes of Canada was the shot fired by Samuel de Champlain July 30, 1609, when he encountered a Mohawk war party while on an expedition which he undertook to win the friendship of the Huron and Ottawas of the St. Lawrence River region.

Effective as the shot was—killing two chiefs and wounding another, besides sending the Mohawks in flight at the sound of firearms which they then heard for the first time—the battle had deeper roots. Most authorities now believe that the arrival of the Iroquois in New York State was of comparatively recent date. In 1535 Cartier had visited Hochelaga, site of the present Montreal, and found there a large Iroquoian village, with forty houses, built of bark, some more than 125 feet long. There were about one thousand natives occupying a thirty-acre site. The building of "long houses," occupied by several families, was a decided Iroquoian characteristic, and made them the Stone Age apartment dwellers. In 1603, when Champlain visited the site, the Iroquois were gone and Huron were in their place.

In the interim something had happened. Authorities who have devoted years of study to the subject, believe the Iroquois, then a single family or tribe, perhaps an offshoot of the Algonkin nation originally, had been attacked by the Huron, and driven out of the St. Lawrence Valley. The punishment the Iroquois received was severe, and they scattered, moving southward in search of refuge. The Mohawks retreated through Vermont, where they remained nursing their wounds, hiding in these fastnesses. As they regained strength they traveled farther south, coming to the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson rivers, passing Cohoes Falls, and moving on up the Mohawk Valley. Their first castles in the valley, according to S. L. Frey, were located high in the hills in the central part of the valley, the largest village known as Garoga, on Garoga Creek, above Fort Plain. One was on the Otsquago Creek west of Fort Plain, named Otstungo; another at Briggs Run, on the north side of the Mohawk River near Sprakers, and a fourth, Cayadutta, near Fonda.

The Oneidas and Onondagas are said to have made their retreat from the St. Lawrence through Jefferson County to central New York;

and the Cayugas and Senecas probably by way of the Niagara Frontier. The latter located at first east of the Genesee River. After reaching their new territory, the tribes developed along individual lines and began quarreling among themselves. At this juncture there appear in the chronicle two famous chiefs, Dakanawida, a former Huron who had become discouraged with the savagery of that people and joined the Mohawks; and Hiawatha or Hayonwatha, a former Onondaga, also had gone to live with the Mohawks. There are numerous versions of the Hiawatha legend, but it has been definitely established that the two chiefs were actual heroes of the Iroquois tribes.

Hiawatha is credited with conceiving the plan for the great League of Nations, which he designed to bring peace among the tribes, as well as for defense without aggression against enemies. For five years he is reputed to have traveled among the tribes seeking support for the plan. The Eries and Neuters, who occupied adjoining lands west of the Senecas, who were classed as Iroquoians, rejected the confederacy —to their sorrow as turned out.

Among the other tribes the leading opposition was from Tadodaho, Onondaga chief. Hiawatha at a meeting with Dakanawida, which is placed by Dr. Arthur C. Parker as "near the Cohoes Falls," and other authorities suggest may have been on the Normanskill below Albany, succeeded in winning Dakanawida's support to the plan. They then jointly convinced five of the nations that they could progress better united than separately. The confederacy accordingly was formed with the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas as members, united by the Great Binding Law. A council of fifty sachems was formed, portioned among the tribes. The Mohawks had nine of these, Oneidas nine, Onondagas fourteen, Cayugas ten, and Senecas eight. The sachems were nominated by the women of the tribes, who also had a voice in the council's final decisions. All tribes had equality in the league and there was no chief commander.

The confederacy was known as the League of the Hodenosaunee, or "People of the Long House," which extended from the Mohawk to the Genesee. The Mohawks, guarding the eastern door, were considered the elder brothers of the confederacy due to the activity of Hiawatha and Dakanawida. They were charged with keeping the eastern door and collecting the tribute the confederacy was soon demanding from conquered tribes. The Onondagas kept the central council fire, the Senecas the western gate. On league matters, a unanimous vote of the council was required, though individual tribes could conduct wars. Authorities believe the migration from Canada occurred

about 1570 and the organization of the league shortly preceded Hudson's appearance on the river—possibly between 1580 and 1600. The Senecas had a tradition that the league was founded only four years before Hudson made his voyage in 1609.

Since Hudson reached the Albany site in mid-September of that year, only a few weeks after Champlain fired on the Mohawks near Crown Point, it is apparent he arrived at an appropriate time to benefit the Dutch.

The league, the first association of states in North America, had been designed, as Hiawatha is supposed to have said, "to end war and unite all nations in one lasting bond of peace." Champlain's assault, leading to such discomfiture of the Mohawks in the presence of their old enemies, the Huron, placed a strain on the league. The practical sense of the Mohawks told them that if the Huron had found a champion among the French who could aid them with firearms, the chances were the Huron would soon be down on them in force and they would have to battle again to save themselves from extermination. That this was the Huron intention was further indicated in 1615 when Champlain led a huge war party against the heavily palisaded Oneida village at Nichols Pond, in Madison County. This time, however, he met such resistance that even his arquebusiers could effect little damage. The attackers lost heart and Champlain, wounded, had to be carried back to Canada in a litter, which greatly injured his prestige with his savage allies.

As word of this second assault spread through the Five Nations Territory, the more warlike began demanding action. As we know, the league while creating a federation of tribes for peace became an "engine of war," and in a few years the war-whoops were echoing through the woods as distant tribes were brought under their sway. The fame of the Mohawks as fighters is too well known to require elaboration. Morgan said that the Iroquois "originated the federal system in North America" and "stand forth in Indian history for the wisdom of their civil institutions, their sagacity and their courage." It is unfortunate that Longfellow in his poem transposed Hiawatha to the Ojibway country of the Algonkins in the Middle West. The poet did make the Vale of Tawasentha the home of the singer "Nawadaha," the verse reading:

> In the Vale of Tawasentha
> In the green and silent valley
> By the pleasant water-courses
> Dwelt the singer Nawadaha.
> . . . . . .

There he sang of Hiawatha
Sang the song of Hiawatha
Sang his wondrous birth and being.

The Vale of Tawasentha is the Normanskill of today, a stream winding through fields and flowing southeasterly into the Hudson, just below Albany. Longfellow acknowledged Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Helderberg-born authority on American Indians, as his source of information on the Hiawatha legend, and the tradition clings that the historic meeting between Hiawatha and Dakanawida actually may have been in this lovely valley.

Schoolcraft says the name "Iroquois" is of French origin and stems from "eoh," an exclamation with which Iroquois sachems were accustomed to close their speeches, meaning "I have spoken." The Iroquois' own name for themselves was Konoshioni, or Cabin Builders. The word "Mohawk" is English, taken from the Algonkin "Mohowaugs," meaning "flesh eaters," a name given them in derision by their enemies and referring to their occasional feasts on human flesh. The Dutch called the Mohawks "Maquaas," Algonkin for "Bear," referring to the bear clan, one of the tribal divisions, the other clans being the wolf and the tortoise. The Mohawks' Iroquois name was "Kanienga" or "flint nation," which is spelled with variations. Morgan gives as the Iroquois names of the tribes: Ganeagoono (Mohawk), "people of the flint"; Onundagaono (Onondaga), "people of the hills"; Nundawaono (Seneca), "Great hill people"; Onayotekaono (Oneida), "granite people"; Gweugwehono (Cayuga), "people of the mucky land"; and Dusgaswehono (Tuscarora), "shirt wearing people." The Tuscaroras, who apparently went to North Carolina on the eviction from Canada, rejoined the Iroquois as the sixth nation in 1714.

The homeland chosen by the Iroquois proved ideally situated. At the time they descended from Canada, badly beaten and humiliated, there were Algonkin tribes along the Hudson, principally the Mahikan at the upper end and Lenni Lenapes or Delawares at the Manhattan end. The Mohawk Valley, although occupied in much earlier times by Algonkin, had been abandoned by them for many centuries, it is believed. From Moenominees Castle at the mouth of the Mohawk westward, except for Algonkin fishing and trading villages near Albany, the region probably was unoccupied—a sort of no man's land between the great racial stocks. Several authorities consider the possibility that the Mohawks gained supremacy over the Mahikan during their migration into the Mohawk Valley via Cohoes Falls, since the River Indians, as the Mahikan were called, gave the Mohawks little

trouble. They have only two small uprisings chalked up against them, both of which they lost to the Mohawks.

In the Mohawk Valley and the country adjoining on the west, the Iroquois found they could take advantage of fertile bottom lands for cultivation of corn, while the high hillsides afforded splendid lookouts and sites for villages, with many springs and small brooks. As they



Fort Johnson, 1749

became better acquainted with their surroundings, they found the streams and valleys leading in various directions which made it easy for them to slip out on the war-path to distant nations. Thus by the Susquehanna Valley they could reach Chesapeake Bay and the Virginia country. By the Oswego and Hudson valleys they could sortie against Canada. By the Ohio and Lake Erie they could come to the Miamis and Illinois.

They made land trails, too, sometimes using old Algonkin paths like the one which led from the Mohawk shore up Wolf Hollow Road near Hoffmans, thence across country to the Hudson and Hoosick

rivers and over the Hoosick Mountains to Deerfield and the Connecticut River. This was known as the Great Algonkin Path and in Massachusetts is called the Mohawk Trail. There were also land trails along the Mohawk, although mostly canoes were used in making the passage of this river. Canoe journeys customarily ended above Cohoes Falls, a seventy-five-foot cascade, the savages going ashore at Schenectady, thence making a path across the pine plains to the Normanskill Valley, which they followed to reach the Hudson. Northerly from the Mohawk to Lake George and Lake Champlain there were two trails, one passing through Galway to the Sacandaga, the other leaving the Mohawk at Alplaus and passing north to Jessups Landing, near Corinth, and Lake George. It was over one of these trails that the French raiders from Canada descended on Schenectady in 1690.

The gap of unoccupied territory between Albany and the lower Mohawk Castle, near the outlet of Schoharie Creek, a forty-mile zone is explained by the reluctance of the Mohawks to expose themselves to attack. Had they come down to the Hudson, an easily navigated tidal stream, they would have been accessible to surprise visitation. The Mohawk River, on the other hand, with Cohoes Falls at the Hudson junction, blockaded approach from that direction and while an easy enough stream to float down, was difficult to ascend because of the many rifts. The Mohawks also looked with favor upon the high hills that enclose the valley at various points, such as Touereuna, or Glenville Hill, 1,097 feet above sea level at Hoffmans, seven miles west of Schenectady, with an opposing eminence on the south side of the river, the famous Yantapuchaberg (John-Ear-of-Corn-Hill), 1,160 feet high. Kinquariones, a hard knoll of dolomite forming the southern extension of Touereuna Hill, reached originally to the Mohawk, forcing land travelers down to the shore. The foot of Kinquariones Knoll was subsequently blasted away to make passageway for the turnpike, the railroad, and the modern highway. The location is significant, since this became the western boundary of Schenectady County. Sir William Johnson took Kinquariones as a natural eastern boundary of Tryon County which he succeeded in having set up in 1772. This also was the site of an early Algonkin arrowhead factory, where flint was shaped into spearheads and arrow points. The name Kinaquariones means "she arrow maker," doubtless a tribute to some pre-historic Algonkin woman, skilful at shaping flints. Wolf Hollow Road, which runs north from the Mohawk along the east side of Kinquariones, as has been noted, was a part of the great Indian path to the

east and north. On Touereuna Hill was an early Algonkin village long before the Iroquois arrival, and there in 1669 was fought the last great battle between the Mohawks and Algonkins, which ended the attempt of the eastern Indians to control the territory. The spot is marked by roadside tablets.

Near Yosts, thirty-three miles west of Schenectady, in the middle section of the Mohawk Valley, rise two other barriers which also were valuable to the Mohawks for defense. These are the high hills known as the Noses, consisting of three chief summits. Big Nose, the highest, is nearly one thousand feet above the sea; Little Nose, on the south shore, seven hundred feet above the sea and about four hundred feet above the Mohawk River; South Nose, near Wasontha Creek, rises 534 feet above the river. The Noses are a part of an Adirondack ridge, originally stretching across the valley over which it is believed on the recession of the glacier there fell an immense cataract. At an early period of their occupancy of the valley, the Mohawks had one of their villages, or castles, on Little Nose, named Onekagonka. Two miles west of Yosts, in Schenck's Hollow, were two early Mohawk villages, Canowarode, in 1634 and Canajorha in 1666. In the vicinity of Sprakers, a few miles further west on the south shore of the river were other Mohawk village sites, including Senatsycrosy in 1634, and Tenontogere in 1642. Between Sprakers and Canajoharie in 1634 was the village of Canagere.

Western door of the Mohawks was Fall Hill, at Little Falls, where the glacier cut a great chasm through the rocks, leaving a gorge three hundred feet deep. In the river section between the Noses and Little Falls were some of the noted Mohawk villages, including Canajoharie and Indian Castle. Thus, in their eeries along the picturesquely enclosed valley, served by its fresh-water, landlocked stream, the Mohawks possessed a realm of undoubted strategic importance. From this seat they proceeded to engage in wars of conquest which swept the forest domain and made them masters of the interior—as DeWitt Clinton called them, the "Romans of the West." History has since proved this to be one of the great strongholds of the country in military strategy. General Winfield Scott once said that the army which could take and hold the Mohawk Valley from the Lakes to the Hudson could "dictate terms to the Republic." It was against this valley that the French hurled their forces incessantly, in the Colonial days, and in the Revolution the attempt of St. Leger to come down that path to the Hudson was checked at the bloody battle of Oriskany.

It was customary for the Mohawks to move their villages from time to time, for various reasons. Sometimes sites were outgrown.

Sometimes castles were attacked and burned by the French. The locations of the known villages are scattered through the valley, are generally close to present highways and railroads, and are marked for the sightseer. In 1634 Harmen Van der Bogaert, commissary of Fort Orange, made a trip to the Mohawk country and left the record of the Indian villages he found on the way. He listed Onekagonka, west of Randall, on a high hill, having thirty-six houses, eighty to one hundred feet long, built in rows like streets. Osquage, on Prospect Hill, Fort Plain, had nine houses. Senatsycrosy, at Sprakers, had twelve houses and Tenontogere, at Oak Hill, northwest of Fort Plain, was the largest, having fifty-five houses, many one hundred feet in length. Others he found were Canagere, between Sprakers and Canajoharie; Sochanidisse, west of Canajoharie, and Canahande, west of Yosts. The houses were built on pole frames with bark sides and roof and had a large hole in the center to let smoke out. Long bunks were built inside, usually in two tiers.

The more prominent villages were strongly protected by palisades or fences about fifteen feet high, with platforms around the inside where the defenders could wage battle. The villages were always located near springs for water supply and were also near fertile bottom lands where the corn was grown.

In the 1642-66 period the Mohawk castles were at Osseruenon, present Auriesville, later known as Gandawague; Andagoron, west of Fultonville; Tenontogere, near Sprakers; and Canajoharie village, near Fort Plain. Father Isaac Jogues, the sainted Jesuit martyr, was taken to Andagoron, Tenontogere and Osseruenon in 1642 when he was captured on the shores of the St. Lawrence with two companions during a Mohawk raid on the Huron country. They were cruelly tortured. Father Jogues' finger nails were torn out, he was beaten with clubs and an Algonkin captive was forced to cut off his thumb with an oyster shell. One of his companions, Guillaume Couture was kept as a prisoner. René Goupil, Jogues' assistant, six weeks later was tomahawked by a brave after seeing Goupil making the sign of his faith above a child's head. Goupil's body was thrown into the Aurieskill, where Father Jogues some months later was able to bury it.

Remaining a captive two years, Father Jogues finally managed to escape with the aid of Arent Van Curler and Domine Johannes Megapolensis, the Dutch Reformed pastor at Fort Orange. The Mohawks took Jogues with them on a fishing trip near the mouth of the Normanskill. Van Curler, who had tried to secure Father Jogues' freedom in 1642, now managed to secrete the Jesuit on board a boat in the river

which was sailing for Manhattan. The Mohawks became disgruntled at his flight, but finally accepted a ransom to discontinue the search for him. The ship sailed, and Father Jogues returned to France, where he was received with great honors for his sufferings.

He insisted on returning to Canada, however, and in 1645 went back to the Mohawk country by way of Fort Orange as an ambassador to seek a peace with the Iroquois. While on this visit he repaid the sum advanced by the Dutch as ransom. He completed his political mission to the Mohawks, and on returning north left behind his missionary box containing personal belongings. During his absence a pest of caterpillars attacked the corn in the Mohawk villages and the savages concluded the missionary's box contained evil spirits. Accompanied by Jean de Lalande, a young Frenchman, Father Jogues was met by a party of Mohawks near Lake George, beaten with clubs and again tortured. On the night of October 18, 1646, when again at Auriesville, he was invited to a feast and accompanied his guide. The Indian led him into a cabin where he was to be entertained. As he entered the door a waiting savage drove a tomahawk through his brain. Lalande was slain the next morning in a similar fashion. The scene of the Jesuit martyrdom has become a notable shrine. In 1930 Father Jogues was canonized, as were Brother Goupil, Brother Lalande and five others of the same period, the first American saints.

After 1666, when de Tracy made a savage raid on the Mohawk castles, the tribesmen built new homes on the north side of the Mohawk, at Caughnawaga (Fonda); Canagorha, near the east side of Big Nose Mountain, east of Yosts; Canajorha, near Schenck's Hollow; Tionontogen, on Garoga Creek at Wagner's Hollow, a mile and a half east of Palatine Bridge. These castles were used until Frontenac's raid of 1693, when the Mohawk clans all gathered at Tribes Hill in one village. The village, known as Ogsadaga, was occupied seven years. Afterward they moved to the last castles they occupied on the Mohawk River. The Wolf clan built its castle at the mouth of Schoharie Creek, which they called Iconderoga, near which Fort Hunter was later built in 1711 for their protection. An Episcopal mission was located there in 1712. The Turtle clan established Tarajorhes on Prospect Hill, Fort Plain. This was an unfortified village, later abandoned. The upper castle, which became the Mohawk capital, was at Indian Castle, opposite the mouth of East Canada Creek, east of the General Herkimer homestead. This was Canajoharie, "great castle" of the Mohawks, famed as the home of King Hendrick and the Brants. These castles were occupied down to the Revolution, when

the Mohawks, still clinging to their ancient English alliance, turned against the patriot cause and became the furies of the valley, massacring their former friends and neighbors.

The chief scenes of the Jesuit labors were at Osseruenon, Caughawaga, and Tionontogen. The first Jesuit to reach the Mohawk Valley is said to have been Father LeCaron in 1616. Among the Mohawks, missions were not established until 1667, following the terrible de Tracy raid which caused the Mohawks to seek a peace with Canada. St. Mary's chapel was established at Tionontogen in 1667 by Father Bruyas and St. Peter's chapel at Caughnawaga in 1668, the latter by Father Pierron. Subsequently there were Jesuit missions at each Iroquois castle. A number of converts were obtained at Caughnawaga, among them Kryn, who afterward became a leader of the "Praying Indians" in Canada, and one of the raiders of New England villages in Queen Anne's War. The missions were abandoned about 1684, due to hostility then aroused between England and France over the control of the fur trade, in which the savages played a vital part. Governor Thomas Dongan, himself a Catholic, requested the removal of the Jesuits, and in 1700 the Province of New York banned the Catholic missions. In 1676, the converted Mohawks moved to the St. Lawrence, establishing the settlement of "Praying Indians" near Montreal, which took the name of Caughnawaga, their old home in the Mohawk Valley. The Roman Catholic Church at the instigation of the Most Rev. Edmund F. Gibbons, of Albany Diocese, in 1931 instituted canonization proceedings for the Iroquois girl, Kateri Tekakwitha, known as the "Lily of the Mohawks," born at Osseruenon in 1656, who braved displeasure of her uncle, with whom she lived after the death of her parents, to embrace the religion of the Jesuits. The uncle's hostility became so great that an escape to Canada was planned for her by an Oneida chief and her brother-in-law. They fled and were followed by the uncle half way to Lake George, accomplishing the rest of the journey in safety. Kateri died in 1680 at the age of twenty-four at the Caughnawaga village on the St. Lawrence, noted for her piety. If the canonization is completed she will become the first native-born North American saint.

The native Iroquois religion was a form of nature worship and involved numerous rites to propitiate evil spirits, especially in advance of important occasions. The tribesmen always treated animals kindly in the belief that they might have been related in a previous incarnation. Schoolcraft reports there was much superstition and belief in witchcraft among them. He adds that the Iroquois resisted Christianization as they resisted other attempts to interfere with their in-

dividuality, since they considered themselves "ongwe honwe" or "real men," and therefore all-sufficient. The addiction of the savages to liquor also acted as an important deterrent to religious progress, Schoolcraft says in his "Notes on the Iroquois." Domine Megapolensis of Fort Orange early attempted to carry on missionary work among the Mohawks, but he spoke of the difficulty of adjusting them permanently to a Christian philosophy. The Rev. John Ogilvie, a missionary at Fort Hunter in 1750, wrote that many of the savages "seem to have lost all sense of religion," although at Canajoharie castle he found excesses of drinking had been prevented by a "very pious Indian whose name is Abraham." This chief was a brother of the famous King Hendrick.

Tortures to which the Iroquois subjected their prisoners were intended to test their courage. Iroquois braves trained themselves to endure great suffering and expected the captives to reveal similar traits. In order to increase their own bravery they would sometimes eat the hearts of victims who had endured extreme punishment without complaint. Before battle, the braves would sometimes fasten the head of an animal to their shoulder to infuse them with greater fierceness. It is significant that one of the Duke's laws, established in the Province of New York after the English conquest in 1664, provided that "no Indian whatsoever at any time (shall) be suffered to Powaw (powwow) or perform outward worship to the Devil in any towne in this government."

In attempting to explain their origin, Schoolcraft relates that the Iroquois held the notion that there were originally two worlds, or regions of space, an upper and a lower world, the lower world of animals and upper world of humans. Eventually the human species were transferred below and the lower world made fit to receive them. This was accomplished by a mythological arrival of a female from heaven, who descended onto the back of a tortoise. Twins were born, and the tortoise shell expanded into the size of a continent. One infant was known as Inigorio or Good Mind, the other, Inigohatea, or Bad Mind. At the instance of the Great Spirit or Holder of the Heavens, these two antagonistic principles, or gods, performed numerous tasks, Good Mind creating human beings and Bad Mind objects or creatures of nature which were hostile to mankind. Another legendary account, given by David Cusack, Tuscarora historian, was that the Iroquois were enclosed in a mountain near Oswego Falls when they were released by Tarenyawagon, the Holder of the Heavens. The latter bid them go east and they entered a valley called the "Tenononatche," Iroquois name for the Mohawk River. They followed this stream to

the "Kohotatea," or Hudson, down to the sea, thence returning west to locate in their territory between the Hudson and Niagara. Schoolcraft also suggests that the Iroquois may have invented the Oswego Falls legend to make up for lack of an established history.

The Iroquois orators and warriors were justly famed. Colden records how the appearance of a Mohawk in New England would cause the savages to "flee like sheep before wolves" while the cry "Mohawk! Mohawk!" spread through the forest. Father Vimont wrote that he would "as lief be beset by hobgoblins as by Iroquois." The Iroquois tribes in addition to the Five Nations of New York State included the Neuters, Eries, Cherokees, Nottoways and originally the Huron. The Five Nations warred on the Huron, Neuters and Eries (the latter having rejected the confederation) until these nations were virtually extinguished. Among the noted Iroquois chiefs were Abraham, King Hendrick, Joseph Brant, Shenandoah, and Red Jacket; among the orators were Garangula, Dekanissora, and Logan. Hendrick made a famous speech at the Albany Congress in 1754, berating the English severely for their neglect of the frontier. Colden said that Dekanissora, an Onondaga orator, who died in 1724, "had a great fluency" and his features "resembled the busts of Cicero."

At the time of the arrival of the whites, the Iroquois were using knives of chert; axes of stone; arrowheads of chert or flint; stone tomahawks; made war clubs of ironwood having a big knot at one end —the famous skull-crackers; made canoes of red elm and hickory, burned and gouged out of logs, less frequently of birch bark; wore moccasins, deerskins and bearskins; and made clay pottery. They raised corn which they made into meal, burying future supplies in bark barrels underground. On the hunt or warpath, braves carried dried corn kernels for food. Their children grew up in simplicity in close contact with nature. Chief Cornplanter once wrote of his childhood days, saying like other Indian boys in his village he "played with the butterfly, the grasshopper and the frogs."

Many Iroquois place names in the Capital District are used today, among them Caughnawaga, "on the rapids"; Canajoharie, "washing the kettle"; Canaderago, "on the lake"; Kennyetto, Cayadutta, "stone standing out of water"; Chuctanunda, "stony."

The Algonkin

Obscure as is the origin of the Iroquois, there are clearer evidences of the background of the Algonkin. The Algonkins were the most numerous and widely dispersed Indian group in North America, scat-

tered from Labrador to the Carolinas and west to the Rockies. They were the earliest occupants of the Mohawk and Hudson valleys, following the Esquimaux, or pre-Columbian people who were in this area in the post-glacial period, retreating northward as the ice age receded. The Algonkin reputedly originated in Asia, crossing via the Aleutian Islands to Alaska, thence in a long migration traversing the mountains, plains and rivers until they reached the Atlantic coast. The precise period of the Algonkin invasion is undetermined, but may have been one thousand to fifteen hundred years ago. The last "wave" constituting the late Algonkin invasion, has been placed at 1500 to 1600 A. D.

Dr. Arthur C. Parker, himself a Seneca, and noted aboriginal authority, said the Algonkin occupation of New York State dates to comparatively remote times. "There must have been wave after wave of these peoples coming in band after band to hunt over the territory or make settlements," he wrote. Many evidences of the primitive occupation have come to light and much has been learned about the movements of these ancient tribesmen. Archæologists are turning up new sites continually and this knowledge is being steadily expanded. Algonkin sites have been found in the eastern Mohawk Valley establishing occupancy there many hundreds of years ago, although apparently they had abandoned the area by the time of Hudson's exploration. There have been recent archæological finds of importance on the Hudson and on Long Island, shedding light on the antiquity of these people.

It is believed the Mound Builders came into the State between Algonkin invasions. Some authorities assert these were the Allegans, of whom the Susquehannocks had some recollection, and after whom the Alleghanies were named. Percy M. Van Epps, Schenectady County historian, classes the Mound Builders as a distinct race, and says (1940) of them:

> "Burial places of this race have been found in two places in Glenville, one just below Hoffmans and the other and more extensive one about midway between Hoffmans and Schenectady. At these places similar and characteristic relics of this race were found with the burials, the disclosures being made during the progress of excavations. Among the objects found were beads and axes beaten from native copper, ceremonial objects fashioned from alabaster as well as other artifacts differing in material and workmanship from those used by the eastern Algonkin.

"The mound-building folk probably entered our region in an interim between some of the several distinct periods of Algonkian occupation; no less than three such periods having been disclosed by recent investigation of our local archæologists. Following the whole extent of the Mohawk to its mouth, this race seems to have followed the Hudson for a few miles northward and also to the south, at least as far as Athens. Near this place an extensive cemetery of this race was disclosed some few years ago, the graves being lined with large and thin stone slabs. With these burials were characteristic relics of westerners.

"What became of these immigrants from the West seems uncertain; they may have been conquered and annihilated in war with the surrounding Algonkin, or as some suggest may have coalesced with that dominant race. They probably never were great in number nor did they long occupy our region. No village site that was definitely occupied by them has yet been found; there remains the chance, however, that such a site may exist on some one of the many areas of our region yet forest clad. Despite much speculation no definite conclusion has yet been reached by the archæologists as to what race the mound-building folk were of."

Mr. Van Epps was a founder of the Van Epps-Hartley Chapter, New York State Archæological Association.

The widespread extent of Algonkin territory bears directly on the Capital Region's development since it was because they were surrounded by their enemies in all directions that the Iroquois began their great wars of conquest among the savage tribes, which made them masters of the wilderness. On the north, the Algonkins included the Adirondacks (called "tree eaters" by the Iroquois as a slur on their hunting ability) in the St. Lawrence Valley; the Ottawas and Tobaccos. The Huron, originally Iroquoian, had split from them and joined the Algonkin, the two thereafter being implacable foes. The Mahikan of the upper Hudson belonged to this race. All the New England Indians were Algonkin. The eastern tribes were called "Wapanachki," and included the Abenakis, Penobscots, Penacooks, Pequots, Pocumtucks, Mohegans, Woronoaks, Narragansetts, and others. On the south were the Delawares or Lenni Lenapes of the lower Hudson and New Jersey sectors; Susquehannocks or Andastes of Pennsylvania and southern tier New York, with southerly tribes including the Catawbas, Chickahominies, Pamunkeys and Powhatans.

On the west were the Eries and Neuters who had declined to join the Iroquois League; the Miamis, Shawnees, Illinois, Sacs and Sioux. Thus enclosed, the Iroquois in the Mohawk-Genesee sector were faced with the necessity of carrying war to their enemies, or awaiting onslaught from the ring of hostile tribes around them. They chose the former course.



View on Claverack Creek

The Mahikans or River Indians, with whom the Capital Region is especially concerned, since it was they who greeted the "Half Moon" crew and opened the way for settlement by the Dutch, were offshoots of the Lenni Lenapes, or Delawares as the Dutch named them. The Lenni Lenapes appear to have been the parent group of Algonkin tribesmen in the section about the Hudson, Catskill and Delaware region, stretching considerably south. Morgan cites an ancient tradition that the Delawares a thousand years ago had lived with the Iroquois beyond the Rocky Mountains, slowly migrating east, and

separating, the Iroquois going to the St. Lawrence and the Delawares to New York State and southerly regions.

Of the ancient origin of the Delawares there appears to be no doubt. Their own name meant "original men," and they were referred to by the Mahikan as their "grandfathers." The traditional territory of the Lenni Lenapes extended from Albany, which they called Gaaschtinick, to the Potomac. Describing this early relationship, a Mahikan once said:

> "Clean across the extent of country our grandfather (the Delawares) had a long house, with a door at each end, one door being open to all nations united with them. To this house the nations from ever so far off used to resort, and smoke the pipe of peace with their grandfather. The white people coming over the great water unfortunately landed at each end of the long house of our grandfather's, and it was not long before they started to pull down the same at both ends. Our grandfather still kept repairing the same although obliged to make it from time to time shorter, until at length the white people had by this time grown very powerful, assisted the common enemy the Maquaas (Mohawks) in erecting a strong house on the ruins of their grandfather."

The Mahikans, as a division of the Lenni Lenapes, located at the upper end of the Hudson Valley, becoming a considerable tribe, with thirty villages. They called themselves "Mahikanders," or "people of the river flowing both ways," referring to the tidal Hudson which they called "Mahikanituk." Their capital was at Schodack, called "Esquitak" in their language. Here was the chief council fire, until 1664 when it was removed to Westenhuck, or Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Their territory is given by Parker as extending from Catskill Creek to Washington County along both banks of the Hudson, and reaching into Vermont and the Connecticut Valley.

Villages of the Mahikan were located at Albany, called "Pem-pot-a-wut-hut," or "place of council fire," according to Parker; and others were at Troy, which was called "Pan-an-paak" or corn field; at Poestenkill; Lansingburg; on Haver Island, at the mouth of the Mohawk, called "Moenominees Castle"; at Castleton, "Castle Hill"; at Catskill, "Wachachkeek"; at Hudson, Valatie and other points. "Potkoke" was described as twelve miles inland from Claverack Landing. There were forts on Castle Heights and Potic Mountain, near Catskill. On Du Bois Creek, near the mouth of Catskill Creek, was an

arrowhead factory. At Beeren Island was a wampum exchange, where aboriginal bartering occurred. At East Greenbush was a village and at Rensselaer, opposite Fort Orange, was a Mahikan fort.

Generally, the Mahikans built circular huts, contrasted with the rectangular houses of the Iroquois. The Mahikan were a more agricultural people, not warlike, and resided in small family groups. The Iroquois houses in contrast would contain many families. The Mahikan forts were palisaded generally like those of the Iroquois. The distinguishing quality of the tribal folk, however, was their friendly disposition, which Hudson recorded in referring to them as a "loving people."

Their welcome to the navigator at Hudson, when the old sachem urged him to remain and broke arrows in protestation of amity, has been cited in the chapter of the "Half Moon's" voyage up the river. This was in fact the actual beginning of the long friendship between the peaceful River Indians and the whites. It was the Mahikans who greeted the settlers of Fort Orange in 1624, showed them how to plant maize and a hundred other arts of the forest. As Caterina Tricot, first woman settler at Fort Orange, stated, the ship bearing the colonists sailed up to "the Maykans," who thereupon with the Mohawks and other Iroquois tribesmen as well "came & made Covenants of friendship with ye sd Arien Jorise (Adrian Jorise Thienpont) there Commander Bringing Him great Presents of Bever or oyr Peltry & desyred that they might come & have a Constant free Trade with them which was concluded upon & ye sd nations come dayly with great multitudes of Bever & traded them with ye Christians." She also terms the Mahikan "Mahikanders or River Indians." It is significant that the first known map of the Hudson, prepared by Block and Christiansen in 1614, contains the names "Mahican" written across the Albany-Catskill section of the river, and westward on the Mohawk appears the name "Maquaa," the Dutch name for the Mohawks.

The friendship of the savages, in such contrast to the reception the natives accorded the settlers at Jamestown and Plymouth, seems to have been accepted without great surprise by the Europeans. Domine Megapolensis, in 1642, speaks of going several miles into the forest without fear, conversing with any savages who happened to pass.

This amity of the Dutch with Mohawks and Mahikans alike is one of the astonishing facts of history. It made possible the location of a white community in the remote interior. The Mahikans were the first to give up their lands to the newcomers, disposing of seven hun-

dred thousand acres in Albany, Rensselaer and Columbia counties to the Van Rensselaer patroon between 1629 and 1647—sales which left them with minor holdings. These and subsequent sales caused them gradually to move to the Connecticut River, remaining for a considerable period at Stockbridge, whence, after the Revolution in which many of them fought with the patriots, they moved to Wisconsin. They have become known today as "Stockbridges." Considerable numbers of the tribesmen remained unmolested in the vicinity of Albany, Troy and the Catskills during the Dutch and English periods, serving as scouts in the wars against France.

Except for an outbreak in 1626 they were at peace with the Mohawks. In that year, as previously mentioned, the Mahikan enlisted Captain Daniel Kriekebeeck of Fort Orange in a foray against the Mohawks which ended in Kriekebeeck's untimely death, and that of several of the Dutch soldiers, one of whom was eaten. The Mohawks were resentful of the attack but were pacified by Peter Barentsen, chief factor of the Dutch West India Company. Said they: "We have done nothing against the white people. Why do they attack us?"

The war, fought with bows and arrows, continued until 1628, when the Mohawks drove the Mahikan to the east side of the Hudson, inflicting severe punishment upon them. The Mahikan did not renew the warfare, and seem to have been treated thereafter in a special manner. They were not reduced to the subject condition of most tribes conquered by the Iroquois—as for instance, the Delaware, who were not permitted to carry guns and were classed as "women," assigned to duties of drudgery. In 1672, through the influence of the Dutch, a pact was made between the Mahikan and Mohawks in which they retained partial independence. As was the custom, however, when tribes were conquered, the Mahikan were allowed to occupy their land. The Iroquois required tribute generally at intervals of two years. But while the Delawares were forbidden to sell any land, the Mahikan were permitted to do so, though often chided by the Iroquois for disposing of it with so lavish a hand that they had scarcely any left. The Mahikan squaw Pewask sold lands on Catskill Creek to Claes Uylen Spiegel, agent of the patroon. From Mahikan sachems in 1678 Marte Gerritsen van Bergen and Captain Silvester Salisbury, of Fort Orange, bought thirty-five thousand five hundred acres about the old Mahikan town of Wachachkeek in the vicinity of present Catskill village. Robert Livingston, in 1683, also from Mahikan sachems, began the acquisition of land for his manor in Columbia County. Since Indians held these lands jointly or as a commune, the tribal sanction was usually necessary for a sale.

We have an account of the first arrival of white men on the Hudson from a member of this ancient tribe, who repeated it at the Congress of 1754 at Albany, as it had been told to him in the traditional word-of-mouth manner of the aborigines. It contains much of the picturesqueness of Indian speech, while expressing a renewal of friendship with the white at a time when French conquest of the colonies was feared. It is given herewith from the record of the Congress.

The spokesman of the River Indians said:

"Fathers, We are greatly rejoiced to see you all here.

"Fathers, who sit present here, we will just give you a short relation of the long friendship which had subsisted between the White people of this County and us. Our Forefathers had a Castle on this River. As one of them walked out he saw something on the River, but was at a loss to know what it was. He took it for a great fish. He ran into the castle and gave notice to the other Indians, two of our Forefathers went to see what it was and found it a Vessel with Men in it. They immediately joined hands with the people in the Vessel and became friends; the white people told them they should not come any further up the river at that time, and said to them they would return back from whence they came and come again in a year's time.

"According to their promise they returned back in a year's time and came as far up the river as where the old Fort stood. Our Forefathers invited them ashore and said to them, Here we will give you a place to make you a Town. It shall be from this place up to such a stream (meaning where the Patroon's Mill now stands) and from the River back to the Hill. Our Forefathers told them they were now a small people and would in time multiply and fill up the land they had given them. After they were ashore sometime, some other Indians who had not seen them before, looked fiercely at them, & our Forefathers observing it and seeing the White people so few in number, lest they should be destroyed, took and sheltered them under their arms; but it turned out that these Indians did not desire to destroy them, but wished also to have the said White people for their friends.

"At this time which we have now spoken of, the white people were small, but we were very numerous and strong. We are few and weak, therefore we expect that you will act by us in these circumstances as we did by you in those we have just now related. We view ye now as a very large Tree. which

> has taken deep Root in the ground, whose branches are spread very wide. We stand by the body of this Tree and we look round to see if there by any who endeavor to hurt it, and if it should so happen that any are powerful enough to destroy it, we are ready to fall with it.
>
> "Fathers. You see how early we made friendship with you. We tied each other in a very strong chain. That chain has never yet been broken. We now clean and Rub that chain, to make it brighter and stronger; and we determine on our part that it never shall be broken, and we hope you will take care that neither you nor any one else shall break it. And we greatly rejoice that Peace and friendship have so long subsisted between us."

Besides the Mahikan, there were numerous local tribes in the Hudson River Valley. The Horicons occupied the section east of the Hudson near Lake George. The Mohegans were near the Cohoes Falls and in Rensselaer County. The Schaghticokes were located in the northern part of Rensselaer County. Uncas, the Mohegan chief, immortalized by J. Fenimore Cooper, is reputed to have been born on or near the site of Troy in 1588. He removed in his youth to the Connecticut River where he joined the Pequots, but in the Pequot War revolted and joined the English in 1637. In 1643 he defeated the Narragansett chief Miantonomoh. Like the Mahikan, he remained on the English side in King Philip's War in 1675, dying at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1682.

The Schaghticokes in 1675 became the center of a settlement of refugee New England Indians taken under the wing of Governor Edmund Andros, during Philip's depredations. The settlement at Schaghticoke, on the Hoosick River, included Wampanoags, Pocumtucks, Narragansetts, Pequots, Mohegans and others. Chief Greylock of the Woronoaks joined the settlement for a time. With the consent of the Five Nations of Iroquois, Governor Andros located the refugees in a compact unit where they could act as a guard to the New England and Hudson River settlements on the north. In celebration of the event, in 1676, the Governor, coming from Albany with one thousand militia as escort, planted a tree with great ceremony, which he called the Council Tree of Peace, or the Witenagemot Oak. The Witenagemot was to consist of the Board of Indian Commissioners which the Governor had established at Albany the previous year; the Governor, his councillors, judges and clergymen. The tree stands preserved on the Knickerbacker farm at Schaghticoke.

South of the Mahikans on the Hudson was the Wappinger group of Lenni Lenapes, including the Wappingers, Kitchawancks, Sintsincks (Sing Sings), Siwanoys, Weckquaesgecks and Reckgawawancks. The last two tribes mentioned were found on Manhattan Island by the Dutch, the Weckquaesgecks occupying the part north of Harlem River, and the Reckgawawancks the lower part. The name Manhattan, according to Alanson Skinner, in a bulletin of the New York State Museum (1912), refers to both tribes dwelling there and is supposed to mean "islanders." The Lenni Lenapes were also in New Jersey and along the Delaware River. On the west side of the Hudson were the Esopus Indians, near Kingston and the Catskills in the Catskills area.

That the Iroquois of the Mohawk Valley had conquered the tribes along the Hudson at an early date is apparent both from accounts of the Tawasentha Treaty and the fact that in 1643 Mohawks raided the Weckquaesgecks to collect tribute. The raid furnished Governor Kieft with an excuse for a massacre of local tribesmen with horrifying results. The Governor, in 1645, came to Fort Orange and arranged a peace with the Mohawks.

In the final clash between the Mohawks and New England Indians for supremacy, records indicate the Mahikan of the Hudson took little part, if any. The battle occurred in 1669 at Touereuna Hill, north of Hoffman's Ferry in the Mohawk Valley. The eastern nations undertook the raid apparently in revenge for attacks by the Iroquois on the Penobscots and Abenakis of Maine, made between 1662 and 1666.

The allied eastern Algonkin made an assault on Caughnawaga, Mohawk village, but being repulsed from there retreated to the top of Touereuna where they made a stand. The site was an ancient Algonkin village, of which many archaic relics have been found. Near-by is the Swart family farm. In the battle the Mohawks passed up Wolf Hollow Ravine in a wide detour which caught the Algonkin by surprise. An all-day battle resulted in which the Algonkin were finally driven into the Mohawk River, losing their chief, Chikataubut, and about fifty of his captains. In 1675 the Mohawks joined the English in wiping out King Philip's New England Indians.

In the Capital Region there were some other scattered Indian groups, including the Karighondontes of the Schoharie Valley. There about three hundred savages, refugees from various tribes, gathered under the leadership of Karighondonte, a French Indian who had married a Mohawk squaw. The tribe attempted to set up an independent nation, but in 1767 the Mohawks forbade them to sell land.

Today the Algonkin of the Hudson Valley are remembered by names they gave to various localities, as well as by relics of their ancient habitation. At the Alplaus Kill, on the lower Mohawk, have been found vestiges of an ancient Algonkin eel weir, with indications that the spot was also used as the site for prehistoric boat building. Stone gouges with which logs were hollowed out by burning have been found. Near West Coxsackie is a huge flint mine, apparently used by Algonkin tribes for centuries. Chipped stone lies in piles thirty feet high. Elsewhere along the Hudson Algonkin caves have been found, some at Bear Mountain, which, too, mutely record the ancient occupation.

Among the Algonkin names we use today are Cohoes, meaning pot holes, the native word "cohoeses" meaning "little holes"; Schodack, abbreviated form of "Esquitak," the tribal capital; Tawasentha, a "waterfall" or "lament"; Coxsackie, "owl land," also spelled in early times "Coxhacking"; Taghkanic, or Taconic, for the eastern mountains; Hoosick, shortened from "Panhoosic," "stony." Papscanee Island, at the lower end of Rensselaer once belonged to an Algonkin chief. The Mahikans sometimes called the Hudson "Shatemuc," or "eel-fishing place." The Algonkian harvest festival, maple sugar making and succotash are among the other reputed contributions of the Algonkin to American life.

Noted among the chiefs of the Algonkian people were Powhatan, Philip, Pontiac, Konkapot, Nimham, Tecumseh and Black Hawk. Nimham was one of seventeen Stockbridge Indians who died while fighting with the patriots at Mt. Vernon, in the Revolution.

Of the services of both Algonkin and Iroquois to the white settlers of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, there is ample proof. The Mahikans opened the door of settlement, as the Iroquois later forged a path to the west for the white traders. The Stone Age people found a ready use for the tools, cloth, kettles, and other manufactures brought over by the whites, and placed a high value upon them, although undoubtedly they were often villainously cheated. Heckewelder describes the amusement of the river tribes at seeing the white settlers hew down a tree with a few blows of an axe. These tools the aborigines thought especially clever. Their own culture quickly came to a halt when the white man brought in European goods. They adopted his methods—even his guns, powder and rum.

Of the traits of the two groups, Beauchamp wrote:

> "The Algonkin were less sedentary than the Iroquois, and cultivated the soil much less. Some have made the Iroquois

long house and the Algonkin circular hut marks of distinction, but these are far from invariable. The Iroquois have been considered higher intellectually and the more eloquent, but this was partly the result of their frequent regular or special councils as a great power. Indeed they adopted captives or allies so largely that but few of pure Iroquois blood may have lived in historic times. The training alone continued, and this developed a high type of aboriginal life. They were accustomed to plan, fight and rule. In later days, their vantage ground between the French and English made them able diplomats, and they used their power well." ("A History of the New York Iroquois," by William M. Beauchamp. New York State Museum Bulletin No. 78, 1905.)

The place accorded to women was unusual both among the Iroquois and Algonkin. Among the Iroquois, although they performed the menial tasks and tilled the fields, women had a high place of honor. They nominated the sachems and the war chiefs; carried the line of descent, children taking their mother's name rather than their father's; were the keepers of tradition and told the tribal story to generation after generation; and in councils had a deciding vote in general matters as well as in declaring peace or war. At the councils, while they did not speak, they had a chief who represented them and spoke for them. Among the Mahikan, the women also were consulted in tribal matters, including declarations of war. The general government among the Mahikan was conducted by a trial council of sachems, one from each village. As tillers of the soil, women sometimes claimed property rights to the land, and sold it.

Early visitors to the Hudson were much impressed with the neatness of appearance and dress of the Mahikan men and women. Hudson's clerk, Juet, observed the good taste of the tribal women and their demure behavior. Ruttenber says that when young men wished to "dress up" they would place a band about their heads "braided of scarlet deer hair interwoven with soft shining red hair." The women ornamented themselves more elaborately and Ruttenber thought their deerskin habiliments more attractive than the garments produced by civilization. Van der Donck observed that the Mahikan women wore skirts decked with wampum worth two or three hundred guilders and thought them "elegantly wrought." The women wore their hair in a club behind, in the form of a beaver's tail, and had bonnets trimmed with wampum. Some wore bands about the head, displaying smooth

raven hair. Their necks were ornamented with costly beads and on their arms were bracelets and arm bands. Ruttenber said that the Mahikan maidens intrigued the Dutch, who "made wives of many of them, refusing to leave them for females of their own country."



Site of the Queen's Fort, 1705, Schenectady

While the Iroquois Confederacy operated under a general statute of utmost democracy, since all tribes were on an equal basis, Algonkin tribes were loosely organized on a family basis. While some Algonkin tribes formed confederacies, they had no effective laws, but acted rather according to custom.

It has been said that the basis for the alliance between the aborigines and the Dutch, which continued through the English period,

was founded on mutual advantage. One commentator says the Iroquois by their geographic position became the allies of the Dutch-English and the foes of France and the French Indians. The fundamental cause of the hostility between the Iroquois and the Canadian savages appears to have been the Huron war, which sent the Iroquois in retreat to New York State.

Undoubtedly it was true that the Five Nations sought fur trade of the white settlers in order to obtain weapons to revenge themselves upon their enemies. They remembered Champlain's arquebus a long time, and the French had fired the first shot. The conquests of other tribes by the Iroquois once they had defeated the Huron were at least logical results. But the Dutch and the English Colonial Governors often restricted the sale of firearms to the savages, even when to do so brought threats that the Iroquois would go over to the French and obtain from them the arms they sought.

Governor Bellomont once remarked that the Iroquois were "very observing," finding that they were exceedingly adroit in forest diplomacy. Management of the fierce savages was never easy. It is therefore of special note that they decreed Albany their "Treaty House" in 1684 and built up about it a sort of sanctity which protected it from extinction many times.

In their imagery there grew up at that place of "ancient friendship" a great tree whose branches spread over the whole territory of the Five Nations. To prevent it swaying in the storms, they envisioned an anchor which tied the tree to the Onondaga central council fire. And the anchor chain was of silver, which was always being brightened and polished by fresh declarations of loyalty.

A great point of distinction of the pioneers in this region was that they sought to instruct the savages in the white man's law, taking property through deeds, righting wrongs where possible, settling issues by treaty rather than by slaughter. There was in this region no such incident as that of 1637 in Connecticut when the natives were trapped in their palisaded villages and burned. Of that massacre, Cotton Mather wrote: "It was supposed that no less than six hundred Pequot souls were brought down to hell that day." Governor Kieft of New Netherland, in 1645, murderously butchered the New Jersey Indians, and brought a holocaust upon the white settlers of Manhattan.

But at the upper end of the Hudson and along the Mohawk in the pre-Revolution period such methods were not pursued. Efforts were rather turned to win and hold the friendship of the savages. The great peacemakers, "Arent Van Curler," who died in 1667, and Peter

Schuyler, whose death was in 1724, were among the negotiators who performed mighty tasks in retaining the loyalty of the Iroquois. Their crown Sir William Johnson took over as Indian superintendent in 1755, until his death in 1774. Of Schuyler, the Mohawks said: "He never tells a lie"—an important consideration when white men were dealing with red.

Bespeaking the type of loyalty that the Iroquois held for the ancient seat of friendship, an Iroquois speaker at an Albany treaty conference in 1744 addressed the Governor of New York and the Mayor of Albany as follows:

> "Brother Corlear and Brother Quider:
>
> "We, the Six Nations do now also on our part renew, strengthen and brighten the covenant chain which we will keep so long as the sun endures. We shall preserve it so strong and so bright that it shall not be in the power of the Devil himself with any of his wiles and evils to break or dirty it."

There were many times in the years following when it seemed, so great was the strain put upon it, that the ancient chain would break. Had it done so, and the Iroquois turned to the side of the French of Canada, Albany would have fallen before the fury of the empire-minded Bourbons and a very different story would be told in America today.

CHAPTER X

City in the Wilderness

Duke of York Grants a Popular Assembly—Thomas Dongan Named Governor, 1682—First Election of Representatives in New York—Assembly Creates Twelve Counties, 1683, Albany the Largest—Dongan Issues Patent to Town of Schenectady, 1684—Grants City Charter to Albany, July 22, 1686, After Obtaining Withdrawal of Van Rensselaer Claims to the Community—Gives the City Control of the Fur Trade—Names Peter Schuyler, Mayor; Robert Livingston, Clerk—Their Notable Careers—Dongan Grants Patent to Van Rensselaers for an English Manor—Creates Manor of Livingston in Columbia County—Other Patents at Kinderhook and Catskill—Description of the Region by Danker and Sluyter.

The formation of Albany County, largest territorial unit of Colonial New York, came about as a result of one of history's strange interludes. With the other original counties of the State, it was created in 1683 by the first popular Assembly organized under the British Crown. In 1682, James, Duke of York and Albany, was in a mood to propitiate the colonists. In 1686, after he became King, he cancelled the Assembly, revoked the "Charter of Libertyes and Priviledges" it had adopted, and popular government died a borning.

But the brief interval was sufficient. Albany County and the eleven others established remained undisturbed and two cities that Governor Thomas Dongan chartered, New York and Albany, were undivested of their rights. In 1691, when William and Mary of Holland ascended the English throne, the acts of the pioneer legislature were affirmed, the Assembly restored, and it continued to function down to the Revolution.

James' indulgence, however brief, was thus of extreme benefit to our region, since for the first time freeholders began to exercise rights of suffrage in a provincial government. It will be remembered that one of the causes of the loss of New Netherland to the English in 1664 had been Governor Stuyvesant's arbitrary refusal to grant the

people a voice in public affairs. James, the Duke of York, had been no more liberal in thought in 1675, when he instructed Governor (Sir) Edmond Andros to discourage the clamor of the people for general assemblies "in imitacion of their neighboring colonies." But conditions in England in 1682 were turbulent, and the Duke at that time was willing to curry favor with his provincial subjects. It is said he was further influenced by the liberal efforts of William Penn, who that year established his Pennsylvania Colony. James acted boldly, appointing as the new Governor of New York, Thomas Dongan, a native of Ireland, with full instructions to call a General Assembly, enfranchise the freeholders, and set up a government modeled somewhat after that at home. Dongan was to appoint a council of ten members who would function as a sort of "House of Lords." The General Assembly was to be the "Commons," its members chosen at public elections by the freeholders. The Assembly could propose and adopt legislation, but final approval rested with the Governor and Council, with an additional veto power resting in the Duke.

Dongan's instructions specified that the Assembly was to consult with the Governor and Council as to what laws "are fit and necessary to be made and established for the good weal and government of the said Colony and its dependencies and all the inhabitants thereof." And to emphasize it, he ordered the Governor to make clear that "it is my resolution that the said General Assembly shall have free liberty to consult and debate among themselves all matters as shall be apprehended proper to be established for laws . . . . and that if such laws shall be propounded as shall appear to be for the manifest good of the country in general and not prejudicial to me, I will assent unto and confirm them."

Executing these commands, Dongan issued, among other warrants, an order "that the Sheriff of Albany and Rancelaers Colony cause the freeholders to meet and choose two persons to be their representatives in the General Assembly to be holden in the City of New York, October ye 17th, 1683." The sheriff of Albany during the period 1680-91 was Richard Pretty. Just how the elections were conducted or who were the representatives chosen from this county are missing items. The records of the original Assembly were destroyed. However, the instructions were that each freeholder of each "Corporation" shall have "his free choice and vote in the electing of the Representatives without any manner of constraint or imposition, and that in all elections the majority of voices shall carry it."

Dongan himself has become an important figure in New York Colonial history, not only because of his penchant for issuing land

patents, but in initiating a new, far-reaching policy in the Indian fur trade. He was the first to challenge the growing power of the French, and to send expeditions into the Great Lakes territory claimed by France, in search of furs. At the same time he resisted the French assaults on the Five Nations in the Mohawk Valley and beyond, as well as the more adroit efforts of the Bourbon governors to draw the Iroquois from their English alliance. This led to a clash of national interest, eventuating in a struggle for possession of the continent. Dongan, who was forty-eight years old when he took up his post in New York, has been described by some authorities as "a man of integrity, moderation and genteel manner," as well as "enterprising, active, coveting money." In the latter respect, he could not have differed greatly from the general run of Colonial governors, few of whom were averse to lining their pockets at royal expense.

It may be said that Dongan's administration was distinctly one of organization, reflecting possibly the trend of the times as well as his own abilities. After King Philip's War in New England, in 1676, Indian affairs were fairly quiescent in the Province, and business revived. Besides stimulating the westward extension of the fur trade, Dongan granted charters to Albany and New York; granted patents to Schenectady; to the Van Rensselaers, for their manor; to Robert Livingston for his manor; and a number of others, including the Great Kinderhook Patent of 1686. He made extraordinary use of his time between his appointment in 1682 and his requested departure in 1688, when the Duke of York and Albany (then having become James II) decided to combine New York and New England into one government under Andros, and demanded Dongan's resignation. James himself lost his throne a few months later in the revolution which brought Prince William Henry of Orange and Queen Mary of Holland to the English throne. Dongan does not reappear in Colonial history. He died in London in 1715.

Just prior to the convening of the Assembly, Dongan, with the aid of the Albany magistrates, achieved a notable diplomatic coup in blocking off an attempt by William Penn to buy the rich Susquehanna Valley hunting lands from the Five Nations of Indians. Dongan reached New York August 25, 1683, and went almost immediately to Albany, where he was informed of the Penn plot. He asked the Albany magistrates to investigate further. They wrote to him a few days later that they had confirmed the rumor and the Indians seemed disposed to sell, but at a conference with the savages they had pledged

the Cayugas and Senecas to "do nothing in the sale without Corlear [the Indian title of the Governor of New York] or his order." The tribesmen reconveyed the Susquehanna territory to the Governor-General of New York. To seal this bargain, the magistrates gave the savages twenty-five pounds of powder, fifty pounds of lead, three kettles, two guns, four coats, two blankets and a piece of duffel cloth. Robert Livingston, town clerk of Albany, sent a map to Dongan describing the territory in dispute, to which the magistrates appended the message:

"If Wm Penn buys said River it will tend to ye utter ruine off ye Bevr trade, as ye Indians themselfs doe acknowledge and Consequently to ye great Prejudice off his Royal highnesse Revenues and his whole Territoryes in general." They added that "the french it is true have endeavored to take away our trade by Peace mealls but this will cutt it all off at once."

The Mohawks went to New York, October 3, 1683, and assented to the reconveyance of the region to New York. The Governor gave them a flag to be placed on their castles. It is evident that New York history would be quite different if the magistrates had not intercepted the Penn proposals, since by this route Pennsylvania would have been able to cut off the Albany trade on the west. Dongan soon found defense of the fur trade the biggest issue of the time.

Eighteen representatives to the General Assembly were elected on September 13, 1683, and the delegates assembled, as ordered in Fort James, in New York City, on October seventeenth. On October thirtieth, the Assembly passed the "Charter of Libertyes and Priviledges Granted By his Majesty and Royal Highness, James the duke of Albany and York." By it the government was consigned to the Duke, the Governor, the Council and the people of the Province. Sessions were to be held once in three years, according to the custom of the realm of England.

The second Act passed was on November first. It was a law "to divide this province and dependencyes into shires and countyes . . . . for the better government of the Province of New York and that Justice and Right may be equally done to all persons within the same." It was enacted that "there shall be yearly and every year, an High Sheriffe constituted and commissionated for each county, and that each Sheriffe may have his under sheriffe deputy or deputyes."

Twelve counties were set up, which were: Albany, Dutchess, Ulster, Orange, West Chester, New York, Kings, Richmond, Queens, Suffolk, Dukes and Cornwall, the two latter being in Massachusetts

and Maine, then temporarily attached to the Province. The county of Albany was defined in the Act "to containe the Towns of Albany, the Collony of Renslaerswyck, Schonecteda, and all the villages, neighbourhoods and Christian Plantaçons on the East Side of Hudsons River from Roelof Jansens Creeke and on the west side from Sawyer's Creeke to the Sarraghtoga." By an amendment in 1691, confirming these bounds, the county's northern limit was described as "to the uttermost end of Sarraghtoga" and the "Mannor of Ranslaerswyck" substituted for the "Collony Renslaerwyck." Spellings varied greatly in Colonial documents.

The enormity of the territory allotted to Albany County may not have appeared evident at the time. The "villages, neighbourhoods and Christian Plantaçons" did not then go west of Schenectady nor north of Schaghticoke, where an Indian outpost had been set in 1676. But as settlement advanced and sovereignty of the English came to be accepted by the Iroquois, Albany County's limits grew apace, finally being found to encompass the vast territory extending north beyond Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence and westward to Niagara, taking in the occupied Iroquois domain. No subdivision of this vast area was made until 1772, when Tryon County was formed, splitting off the western half of the Province, Kinquariones, near Hoffmans, being the boundary line.

On this account, Albany has become known as the "mother of counties" in upstate New York. In all, fifty counties and the State of Vermont were taken from it. A great deal of family history relates to it, and many crucial and interesting events occurred on Albany County's original soil. Rensselaer and Saratoga counties were not split off from Albany until 1791, so that the writing of "Yankee Doodle" at Fort Crailo in 1758 and the battle of Saratoga, 1777, were Albany County events at the time of their occurrence. Tryon County was named Montgomery County in 1784, and this area subsequently was subdivided to form many counties, including Otsego, Herkimer, Fulton and Hamilton. Columbia County was formed from Albany County in 1786; Schoharie in 1795; Greene in 1800; Schenectady in 1809. Northern counties were split off in 1772 as Charlotte County, renamed Washington County in 1784, from which have been taken Warren, Clinton, St. Lawrence, Essex and Franklin counties. In 1786, Cumberland County was formed, which included Bennington, Windsor, Rutland and adjacent areas in Vermont, also within the original Albany County domain. The formation of these counties will be described as they occur in the chronology.

The scanty definition of the county's bounds given in the original Act needs interpretation. Roeloff Jansen's Creek is about twelve miles south of the city of Hudson. It was named for Roeloff Jansen, an early settler who arrived in Rensselaerwyck in 1630 from Maesterlandt, Holland. He was the husband of Annetje Jans, and it was he who in 1636 obtained from Director Wouter Van Twiller the Duke's Farm in New York City, now owned by Trinity Church. It is said the creek got its name from an enforced visit Jansen made there for several weeks one winter when his boat became frozen in the ice and he found refuge at an Indian camp there. After his death, his widow married the Rev. Everardus Bogardus, a Dutch clergyman. She died in 1663 in Albany, her will disposing of the Duke's Farm being notarized by Dirk Van Schelluyne, clerk of the court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck. Dutchess County touches the southerly line of Roeloff Jansen's Creek.

Sawyer's Creek is an English translation of the Dutch "zaagertjes," meaning "saw mill man," referring to a miller who had an establishment on the stream. The creek is close to the modern boundary between Greene and Ulster counties. "Sarraghtoga" was a regional Indian name for the zone along the upper Hudson. As thus defined, Albany County embraced the whole State lying north of Ulster and Dutchess counties and including Vermont.

The successive depletions have reduced the present county to a shadow of its former self. The modern boundaries are actually coincidental with the so-called "West Manor" of Rensselaerwyck, or that part of the patroon's original holdings west of the Hudson River. Now bounded by Rensselaer, Greene, Schoharie, Schenectady and Saratoga, the county contains 527 square miles. An interesting feature of the present county is that while it has in general a rhomboidal shape, with parallel north and south lines, the east and west boundaries, which are also parallel, form a waving line representing the curves of the Hudson River. The east line of the county is laid down the middle of the Hudson, hence the west line, being parallel, duplicates these curves on land.

New York Province at the time possessed the islands of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard and No Man's Land, off the Massachusetts coast, which were made into Dukes County in 1683; and in Maine had Pemaquid and adjacent islands, which became Cornwall County. The name of Albany County, of course, was taken from the Duke's title.

The General Assembly also passed acts setting up town courts, county courts of sessions, General Court of Oyer and Terminer, and

Court of Chancery, which was to be the Supreme Court of the Province. The first session enacted fourteen laws in three weeks, adjourning November 7, 1683. In 1684, Governor Dongan went to Albany for a conference with the Indians, accompanied by Lord Effingham, of Virginia, who was seeking peace with the Iroquois whose wars had reached that region. A treaty was made at Albany's town hall. Dongan gave the Iroquois chiefs "the King's Arms" to put on their castles, a significant act since as from that time dates the English claim to sovereignty over the Confederacy. The French had already made similar claims, dating from 1667 when the Long House made a peace with the French Governor. The claims were subsequently to be tested under arduous conditions. Whether the emblem Dongan presented to the Indians was a flag or a copy of the royal arms is not known.

At the second session of the General Assembly in New York in 1684, thirty-one laws were passed, including a ten per cent. duty on imports from other colonies of competing goods. The third Assembly met in 1685, with a new set of representatives. On the death of Charles II, February 6, 1685, the Duke ascended the throne as James II, and the Province of New York was annexed to the royal dominions, losing its proprietary character.

An event of importance in New York history occurred in 1685, when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, which drove from that country more than one million five hundred thousand French Protestants. About two hundred thousand of them found refuge in England or America. Settlements were made at Newburgh and New Rochelle. Huguenot descendants were prominent in the later history of Catskill and other parts of the Capital Region. Gerard de Forest, brother of the famous Jesse de Forest, had been an early partner of the patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer in locating settlers in our region.

On November 1, 1684, Dongan granted the Schenectady Patent, which became the source of all legal titles to those lands.

The patent confirmed the deed of 1672 given by Indians of the four Mohawk castles to Sander Leendertse Glen, John Van Eps and Sweere Teunisse Van Velsen, empowered by the inhabitants to receive it; and placed the lands in the control of five trustees. These were William Teller, Ryer Schermerhorn, Sweer Teunisse Van Velsen, Jan Van Eps and Myndert Wemp. They were empowered by the Governor to act "on behalf on the inhabitants of the Towne of Schenectade," in holding the land, including hunting and fishing rights, the

hereditary rights to descend upon their "heirs, successors and assigns forever." Annual quit rent was to be forty bushels of good winter wheat delivered to the King's officer at Albany on March twenty-fifth annually.

Included in the patent was an area running westerly along both sides of the river for twelve miles from the town "to a certaine place called by the Indians Canaquarioeny" (Kinquariones) and down the river one Dutch or four English miles to "a kill or creeke called the Ael Place" (Alplaus), and from that point southerly into the woods toward Albany to the Sandkill one Dutch mile, "and as much on the



Colonel Yates House, Schenectady, Built 1735

other side of the River north, being one Dutch mile more." This patent has become the basis for titles within the 128 square miles of territory granted subsequently to 1684.

The provision for retention of fee of the land in the five trustees caused immense difficulties, and led to a controversy which was not settled until Schenectady became a city in 1798—114 years later. Three of the trustees—Van Velsen, Van Eps and Wemp—were slain in the Schenectady massacre of 1690, leaving Schermerhorn and Teller as survivors. The latter moved to New York City, dying in 1700, leaving Ryer Schermerhorn as sole surviving trustee, in charge of about eighty thousand acres of land belonging to the village.

The battle made by the heirs of the original trustees and the inhabitants to establish control of the property and set up a popular government will be described hereafter. While Schermerhorn and his heirs continued to control the property for an extended period, local affairs were largely in the hands of the town magistrates. Governor Lovelace, in 1672, appointed a town court to handle small cases of debt and trespass where amounts did not exceed 100 guilders. The justices were appointed by the Governor on nominations from the people. Schenectady also had a *schout* or sheriff. Cases involving larger matters were sent to the "Court of Albany, Colony of Rensselaerswyck and Schaenhechtade," established by Governor Nicolls in 1665. Schenectady remained under Albany's jurisdiction until it became a city after the Revolution.

Governor Lovelace, in 1669, as Stuyvesant had previously done, specifically forbade the Schenectady folk from trading with the Indians. A clandestine trade grew up, however, resulting in numerous raids by the Albany sheriff upon homes of "dorpians" in search of contraband furs. One of the original conditions imposed by Stuyvesant in permitting the Schenectady settlement had been that the inhabitants take a pledge to maintain only an agricultural community. Pearson, in his "History of the Schenectady Patent," says the promise, "though for the time apparently acquiesced in by the people, outraged their sense of justice and right," and the regulations soon began to be disregarded.

This situation continued until in granting the Albany city charter on July 22, 1686, Governor Dongan conferred upon the Albany officials complete control of the fur trade throughout the King's dominions in the Province of New York and beyond the western, northern and eastern borders.

The Albany charter followed by a few months one granted by Dongan to New York City on April 27, 1686, in which he confirmed previous grants dating from 1665, and gave to New York a monopoly of flour manufacture, among other privileges.

The New York and Albany charters have become noted as the two oldest municipal charters in Colonial America. Chartered cities are no novelty now. They were 250 years ago. In New York Province, no other cities were created until after the Revolution, when Hudson became the third city. Boston remained a town as late as 1830. Philadelphia was chartered as a city in 1691. James City (Jamestown), Virginia, passed out of existence before 1700. New York, at the seaboard, had enjoyed a burgher form of government

since 1657, and had a mayor soon after the English conquest. Governor Stuyvesant established a court for Albany (Beverwyck) fort and village, and the town had rights of a borough after 1673, administered by the magistrates and *schout* or sheriff. Governor Lovelace once addressed the Albany schout as "Mr. Mayor." The Dongan charter referred to Albany as "an ancient town."

When Albany had municipal privileges conferred upon it, it was a small community centered in a wilderness. It had less than one thousand inhabitants with about one hundred houses between the hillside and the river. The King's fort stood half way up State Street Hill and palisades enclosed the town. There were a number of sturdy brick houses with tile roofs, but generally the buildings were of wood with stone chimneys. The chief business of the city was indicated in the charter's award of the fur trade, but Albany also was an important wheat raiser and transporter of goods on the river. The seal devised for the city had the letters "ALB" surmounted by a coronet. Some years later (1752) the city adopted a beaver emblem as the official insignia. The modern city seal depicts a beaver, a farmer, an Indian, two sheaves of wheat and a Hudson River sloop, with the motto "Assiduity." New York City's modern seal depicts a windmill and flour barrels, a reference to the flour bolting monopoly the city received in 1686.

It is recorded the charter, received in Albany on July 26, 1686, was read at the Stadt Huys steps "with all ye joy and acclamations imaginable." Well might this have been. The frontier village which had been an endless source of bickering between the governmental authorities and the Van Rensselaer patroons, at last had received full-stage "home rule" of its own, with a sufficient land area to provide for its growth. In laying out the new city, Govenor Dongan set definite bounds, greatly enlarging the "cannon shot" zone about Fort Orange which Governor Stuyvesant had fixed in 1652, when he forcibly separated the village from the patroon's *Colonie*. According to Stuyvesant's measure, the bounds of the village of Beverwyck extended about three thousand feet north, west and south of Fort Orange, the old Dutch redoubt which stood on the river bank. In 1676, Governor Andros had built a new fort of wood on the State Street hillside, and the palisades were extended accordingly, with blockhouses at the street gates. The community had gradually grown up to these limits. There was such a shortage of land that an increasing number of settlers moved to outlying points, as rapidly as they were able to buy lands from the Indians. These émigrés, however, had to go con-

siderable distances, since all the land twenty-four miles north and south of Albany and forty-eight miles east and west belonged to the Van Rensselaer *colonie,* as well as a large sector in the Claverack vicinity.

Up to 1686, Albany village was only a pinpoint in a vast expanse of feudal lands. Though having little area to call its own, it had built up a great trade with the Indians, using the river to transport peltry to the seaboard and bring other goods back. The little town was filled with stores dealing in Indian merchandise. North and south of the palisades were Indian houses where the trading was officially done. But to come down to Albany by land from the Iroquois country the Indians had to pass through the colony of the Van Rensselaers. This frequently meant interruptions and sometimes loss of revenue to His Majesty the King, who benefited by the export duty on peltries. Doubtless Colonial governors had often wished to find a means of opening a public passageway through the patroon's lands from Albany to the Mohawk.

The application of the citizens of Albany for a charter, apparently first broached to the Governor in 1684, found a ready response from Dongan. Deeply interested as he was in the expansion of the fur trade, he saw an apportunity to accomplish a long-sought end. In determining the boundaries of the city of Albany, he took Stuyvesant's north and south lines, as staked out in 1652—approximately between Orange and Gansevoort streets—and then ran new lines, which carried the city boundaries sixteen miles northwest from the Hudson, a mile wide. This long strip he named the "Freedom of Albany," signifying it belonged to the people. It pointed toward the Mohawk Valley, but ran southwesterly of the area Dongan had patented to Schenectady two years before. Through the "Freedom of Albany" very shortly thereafter a road was laid out from the hillside fort in Albany traversing the narrow belt for several miles, whence it turned northeasterly to reach Schenectady and the Mohawk River, which lay beyond the patroon's domain. This became the chief route used by the Indian traders and the military forces in crossing the "isthmus" between Albany and Schenectady during Colonial days. As defined by Dongan, Albany was one of the largest cities of the world in area. Practically, the city occupied only a portion of this space. The long spur toward the Mohawk was gradually cut down by later enactments to a distance of four and one-half miles from the river, but there remains on the city map of today a "panhandle" segment on the northwest still scantily settled, a vestige of Dongan's original grant.

There is no doubt that the Governor felt he had achieved a coup in the Albany city charter. To prepare the way for it, he had to extinguish permanently the claims of the Van Rensselaer family to the fort-village. This, as he afterward explained to the Committee on Trade of the Province, he accomplished with the aid of James Graham, Judge John Palmer and Stephanus Van Cortlandt, who possessed special influence with the patroon. The results of this planning appeared when, November 4, 1685, Dongan granted a long-delayed patent to the Van Rensselaers for the manor of Rensselaerwyck. In consideration therefor he obtained a release from the patroon and his heirs of their claims to the lands on which Albany stood, as well as the sixteen-mile strip into the woods. For the Van Rensselaers to give up their Albany pretensions must have been difficult. Ownership of the land where the village had been built was in question from Stuyvesant's time. The Van Rensselaers held that although the Dutch West India Company had located Fort Orange on the site in 1624, there had been no actual purchase, and the patroon's deed from the Mahikan Indians of 1629 was the only valid title. Stuyvesant, as we have seen, stubbornly resisted the patroon's efforts to gain control of the village, seeing that thereby the West India Company, as agent of the Holland Government, would lose its hold on an immensely valuable fur trading territory.

After the English conquest, the Van Rensselaers applied for a patent, at the same time renewing their claim to the village. Governor Nicolls declined to act on the petition, warning the patroon not to grasp at government, but to be content with the revenues of his agricultural estate. Governor Andros, in 1678, was directed by the home government to recognize Van Rensselaer's claim, and to require property owners in Albany to pay, according to size of the houses, one or two beaver skins annually as quit rent to the patroon for a period of thirty-one years, after which a rental would be agreed upon. Andros never undertook to carry out the order.

Dongan disposed of the issue finally. The astonishing thing was that he himself was convinced the Van Rensselaers had a legal right to the site of Albany; but he was determined, for political reasons, that so important a town should not be "in the hands of any particular men." He wrote to the Committee on Trade in 1687:

> "The Town of Albany lyes within the Ranslaers Colony. And to say the truth the Ranslaers had the right to it, for it was they settled the place, and upon a petition of one of them

to our present King (James II) about Albany the Petitioner was referred to his Matys Council at Law, who upon perusal of the Ranslaers Papers, made their return that it was their opinion that it did belong to them. Upon which there was an order sent over to Sr Edmund Andros that the Ranslaers should be put in possession of Albany & that every house should pay some two Beavers, some more, some less, according to their dimensions, pr annum for thirty years & afterwards the Ranslaers to put what rent upon them they could agree for. What reason Sir Edmund Andros has given for putting these orders into execution I know not.

"The Ranslaers came & brought mee the same orders which I thought not convenient to execute, judging it not for his Matys Interest that the second Town of the Government & which brings his Maty soe great a Revenue, should bee in the hands of any particular men. The Town of itself is upon a barren sandy spot of Land & the Inhabitants live wholy upon Trade with the Indians. By the meanes of Mr. James Graham, Judge Palmer and Mr. Van Cortlandt that have great influence on that people, I got the Ranslaers to release their pretence to the Town and sixteen miles into the Country for Commons to the King, with liberty to cut firewood within the Colony for one & twenty years.

"After I had obtained this release of the Ranslaers I passed the Patent for Albany."

The Governor denied receiving seven hundred pounds for issuing the Albany charter, saying the amount of his fee was but three hundred pounds. The Van Rensselaers gave him two hundred pounds for the manorial patent.

The Governor in the charter allotted certain lands to the public, including an area in the southern part of the city which had formerly been used as a common pasture. The pasture extended from old Fort Orange to Martin Gerritsen's Island, now Van Rensselaer Island.

As defined in the charter, the city limits were to "henceforth extend and reach . . . . as well as in length and in breadth as in circuit on the east by Hudsons river so far as low water mark; to the south by a line to be drawn from the southermost end of the Pasture, at the north end of the said island, called Martin Gerritsen's Island, running back into the woods sixteen English miles due northwest to a

certain kill or creek called the Sandkill; on the north to a line to be drawn from the post that was set by Governor Stuyvesant near Hudsons River, running likewise northwest sixteen English miles and on the west by a straight line to be drawn from the points of the said south and north lines."

All this territory the charter gave to the "Mayor, Aldermen & Commonalty" of the city of Albany, and their successors, forever, that they "may freely and quietly have, hold, use and enjoy the aforesaid liberties, authorities, jurisdictions, franchises, rights, royalties, privileges, advantages, exemptions, lands, tenements, hereditaments and premises aforesaid . . . . without let, hindrance or impediment of any of his Majesty's governors, lieutenants or other officers whatsoever."

The charter also set aside for the public the Dutch Church, courthouse, graveyard near the palisades, the ferry to Greenbush which had been established in 1642, and hunting and fishing rights. The city was authorized to buy from the Indians five hundred acres of meadow land at Schaghticoke and one thousand acres at Tiononderogue (later the site of Fort Hunter), presumably to serve as outposts for defense. The Schaghticoke lands were acquired, but the occupancy of Tiononderogue by Mohawks prevented negotiations there.

The officials of the city were the mayor, recorder, chamberlain or treasurer, six aldermen, six assistant aldermen, town clerk, sheriff, coroner, clerk of the market, high constable, three sub-constables, a marshal or sergeant of mace. The mayor, recorder, aldermen and assistants were constituted "one body corporate and Politick" and were designated as "the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of Albany," acting in the name of the people.

The Governor named the first officers in the charter, as follows: Peter Schuyler, mayor; Isaac Swinton, recorder; Robert Livingston, clerk; Dierck Wessels, Jan Janse Bleeker, David Schuyler, Johannes Wendell, Levinus Van Schaick, Adrian Geritse, aldermen; Joachim Staets, John Lansing, Isaac Verplanck, Lawrence Van Ale, Albert Ryckman and Melgert Wynantse, assistant aldermen; Jan Becker, chamberlain; Richard Pretty, sheriff; and James Parker, marshal.

It was provided annual nominations of mayor and sheriff were to be made by the Governor of the Province on the feast day of St. Michael the Archangel (September twenty-ninth). The recorder and town clerk were to be appointed also by the Governor but no term of office was specified. The other officers excepting the chamberlain were to be elected by majority vote of the people on St. Michael's Day.

The chamberlain was to be named by the mayor and three or more aldermen.

Powers of the mayor were numerous. He alone could issue licenses under the city seal. He was entrusted also with the duties of the clerk of the market and the coroner. The mayor, recorder and two aldermen were to sit every fortnight as a court of common pleas. The mayor, recorder and all aldermen were to sit also as a court of sessions for the county and as a court of oyer and terminer. The latter was a criminal court branch of Supreme Court. The mayor's court was one of the most important of the Colonial period. The aldermen were all constituted as justices of the peace or magistrates. Presiding justices were designated for the higher courts. Matters exceeding 5 pounds could be appealed from the court of sessions to the court of oyer and terminer.

Citizens (freemen) could be created, under the charter, by the mayor and any three aldermen, without which freedom inhabitants could not engage in "any art, trade, mystery or manuall occupation within the said city, libertyes or precints thereof, saveing in times of fayres." Those desiring to pursue business as traders or merchants had to be made "ffree citizens," the fee being 3 pounds 12 shillings. Those engaging in handicrafts paid 36 shillings to become freemen.

Full powers of local government were granted to the mayor and aldermen, together forming the common council, three aldermen constituting a quorum. The assistant aldermen were to act when there were absentees among the ranks of the aldermen. In return for the many liberties and freedoms granted, as well as the possession of land and trading privileges, the city was directed to pay as quit rent annually on March twenty-fifth one beaver skin to the King's receiver in Albany.

In conferring control of the fur trade upon the officials of the city, Dongan indicated a high regard for their sagacity. He was chided for it by Governor Denonville of Canada, who said he had thus given up to the merchants control which belonged to the King. The charter provisions respecting the peltry trade gave immense scope to the affairs of the city and had a decided bearing on subsequent events. The charter granted to the mayor, aldermen and commonalty and their successors forever "the right, privilege and preheminence and advantage of the sole and onely management of the trade with the Indians as well within thiss whole County as without the same, to the Eastward, Northward and Westward thereof as farr as his Majestyes Dominion here does or may extent" which was "to be managed and

Transacted onely by the ffreemen, being actuall Inhabitants within the said citty and within the now walls or stockadoes thereof, and not elsewhere."

The charter prohibited "all and every the Inhabitants of the sayd Province of New York (the Inhabitants of the said citty of Albany only excepted) to trade or traffique with any of the ffive Nations of Indians called the Sinicaes, Caijugaes, Onondagues, Oneides & Maques, who live to the westward, or with any other Indian or Indians whatsoever within the county of Albany, or to the Eastward, Northward or Westward thereof . . . . or to have or keepe in their houses or elsewhere any Indian goods or Merchandize upon the payne and penalty of the fforfeiture and confiscation of such Indian commodityes, whether the same be Bevers, Peltry, or other Indian commodityes whatsoever (except Indian corne, vennison and dressed deerskins.)"

Actual signing of the charter by Dongan was in Fort James, New York City, after many preliminary formalities, and the event was celebrated on July 26, 1686, when as was recorded by the justices of the peace, "Pieter Schuyler, gent" and "Robt. Livingston, gent." who had been "commissionated by ye towne of Albanie to goe to New Yorke and procure ye Charter for this citty" had returned with it. It was read from the Stadt Huys steps to the cheering citizens, and the two "gent." received the thanks of "ye magistrates and burgesses" for their work.

Peter Schuyler, first mayor in Albany's municipal history, was the Albany-born son of Philip Pieterse Schuyler, who came to Rensselaerwyck about 1647 from Holland, and his wife, Margaretta Van Schlechtenhorst. Philip Pieterse became patroon's commissary and in 1650 married Juffrouw Schlechtenhorst, daughter of the director of the colony. No clergyman then being in the colony, Domine Megapolensis in 1649 having accepted a call to the Dutch congregation at Fort Amsterdam, the ceremony was performed in the patroon's manor house by Antony de Hooges, secretary of the colony. Officers of Fort Orange and Rensselaerwyck were among the guests at this pioneer social event. Philip Pieterse Schuyler was one of the few to have a stained glass window placed in the Dutch Church built in 1656, a portion of which, with the family coat-of-arms and the legend "Filyp Pietersen Schuyler, Commissaris" is preserved in the Albany Institute of History and Art. The Wendells, Jacobsens and Van Rensselaers were among other families to have stained glass windows in the "blockhouse church." Philip Pieterse died March 9, 1683/4, two

years before his son became mayor. He was buried, as was the custom, beneath the Dutch Church, then at Broadway and State Street.

Peter Schuyler was born September 17, 1657. He became a noted trader, Indian peacemaker, warrior and Colonial adviser, rising to head the Governor's Council in Governor Fletcher's time. He was twenty-nine years old when he became mayor and served eight years. He married Engeltie Van Schaick in 1681, and after her death in 1689 married Maria Van Rensselaer. He served as a major of militia, joining the pursuit of the French following the Schenectady massacre and distinguished himself in attacks on La Prairie and Montreal. He served many years as Indian Commissioner, member of the Provincial



Otsego Hall, Cooper's Home, Built 1798, Burned 1852

Assembly, and judge of the court of oyer and terminer. In 1709-10 he made his famous trip to London with five Mohawk chiefs, was received by Queen Anne who offered him a knighthood which he refused—perhaps the first American-born statesman to decline such honors. He did so with the diplomatic excuse that it might make members of his family feel "vain." Beloved of the Indians, he was called by them "Quider," a name they gave thereafter to the mayors of Albany. He was the man upon whom Colonial Governors chiefly depended in the critical forty-year period from 1684 until his death in 1724 to keep the Iroquois loyal to the English alliance. No other frontier leader of similar brilliance appeared until Sir William John-

son came to the fore in Indian affairs in the quarter century preceding the Revolution. As a youth, Peter lived at the family home, the Flatts, at the lower end of Watervliet, and while mayor occupied a residence at the corner of Broadway and State Street. The family also owned a house at State and Pearl streets, built in 1667, in the rear of which, at South Pearl and Green, was Schuyler's trading house, or store.

Next to Schuyler as a leading figure in the city government was Robert Livingston. Born at Ancram, Scotland, in 1654, he was the son of a clergyman. On his father's death, Robert fled to Holland to escape religious persecutions. He voyaged to Albany in 1674 in company with the Rev. Nicholas Van Rensselaer, a relative of the patroon, who had been named colleague of the Rev. Gideon Schaets, minister of the Dutch Church. Van Rensselaer had been ordained a deacon by the Church of England and had served as chaplain to the Dutch ambassador in London. His appointment to the Albany church, made at the request of Charles II of England, stirred a lengthy controversy, resulting in his imprisonment. At a trial in Albany before an extraordinary court in 1676, Van Rensselaer and Domine Schaets were instructed to bury their differences and "forgive and forget." The next year Van Rensselaer was deposed from office by Governor Andros, and the following year he died. His widow, in 1683, was married to Robert Livingston. She was Alida Schuyler, sister of Peter Schuyler.

Robert Livingston quickly won advancement in the community where he had chosen to settle. The year after his arrival, when he was twenty-one, he was appointed by Governor Andros town clerk and secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners. He continued long after to be outstanding in Albany affairs. Appointed by the magistrates to go with Schuyler to New York to obtain the city charter, he was rewarded with designation as town clerk. Governor Dongan also named him sub-collector and receiver of the royal revenues at Albany, a post yielding a considerable revenue.

While the two brothers-in-law were negotiating for the Albany charter, Livingston got the Governor's ear and on the same day, July 22, 1686, secured for himself a patent for lands totalling 160,240 acres in present Columbia County, which he had been acquiring from the Indians for several years. The Dongan patent set up the manor of Livingston of which Robert became the "first lord." Life tenure leases were permitted, which could be devised by tenants to their heirs on payment of fees to the "lord." The lord was allowed to have court leet and court baron. The former, being for more important matters, was subject to royal control. The latter was a local court for adjust-

ment of disputes on the manor. The "lord" as on other manors in New York Province had no feudal title, the term being equivalent simply to that of "owner" or "landlord." Model for these manors was the manor of East Greenwich, Kent, England, held directly by the crown. Quit rents to the King were therefore nominal. Livingston's quit rent for the vast estate was but 28 shillings a year. Eventually he obtained representation for the manor in the Provincial Assembly, as did the manor of Rensselaerwyck in 1685.

Thus possessed of the manorial patent, as Brodhead says, "the shrewd Scotch clerk of Albany became one of the largest landholders in New York." Livingston's first land purchase was on July 12, 1683, when he acquired two thousand acres of land and woods along Roeloff Jansen's Creek. This area began at Oak Hill on the north extending twelve miles to the south limit of present Germantown, thence eastward to the Taghkanic (Taconic) Hills. The purchase price was 300 guilders plus duffels and other Indian goods. The sellers appeared satisfied except a squaw, Siak-a-nochiqui, of Catskill, who four years later asserted a claim to the property and was bought off with "one cloth garment and one cotton shift." Livingston's second purchase was on August 10, 1685, when he acquired additional lands between the Taghkanic region and the Massachusetts boundary. In 1699, Livingston built his first manor house, near the mouth of Roeloff Jansen's Creek, not far from present Linlithgo railway station. The house was taken down about 1800 by his great-great-grandson. It was said the original manor house had thick walls, and servants used to be startled by the sight of Spanish coins and other money that Livingston kept in a pile on the floor of a downstairs room—a primitive bank! After this Livingston became a commuter, dividing his time between the manor and Albany, thirty miles northward, to attend to his civil duties. He had a homestead in Albany at the northwest corner of State and Pearl streets. In it Philip Livingston, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born in 1716.

Livingston's career was highly eventful. He became involved in the Leisler rebellion in 1688, opposing the usurper so strenuously that he had to leave the Province temporarily. In 1695 when in England he preferred charges against Governor Fletcher, who suspended him from all offices except as town clerk of Albany. The King restored him to office at the solicitation of the Earl of Bellomont, and when the latter became Governor of New York he made Livingston a member of his Council. He entered into a deal with Bellomont and Captain

William Kidd to equip a vessel to go against pirates who were injuring New York trade. Kidd deceived his associates by becoming a pirate himself. From 1709 to 1714, Livingston represented Albany City in the Assembly and in 1715, under a new patent he secured from Governor Hunter, obtained a seat in that body for his manor. He held this post himself until 1726 when he retired, dying in 1728. He achieved the extraordinary record of holding public office for forty-six years, and managed to hand over his numerous posts to his son, Philip, with the King's approval. From 1716 until the Revolution, the only representatives in the General Assembly from the present Columbia County were members of the Livingston family.

As a manor lord, Livingston became a neighbor of the influential Van Rensselaers, to whom Dongan gave a patent for the manor of Rensselaerwyck in 1685, as we have noted. This great manor dated from Indian purchases made between 1630 and 1670, and included seven hundred thousand acres, of which five hundred and thirty thousand were in present Albany and Rensselaer counties and one hundred and seventy thousand in present Columbia County. Van Rensselaer manor houses were erected at Fort Crailo, Rensselaer, in 1642, and at Claverack in 1685. The date of the first Albany manor house is not known, but one was in existence when Stuyvesant created the village of Beverwyck in 1652, and another was built in 1666, at the northern end of the town. The Claverack, or lower manor, lay between Stockport and Livingston Manor, extending twenty-four miles east to the Massachusetts line. It originally included the city of Hudson area, but this was finally confirmed to Jan Frans Van Hoesan.

In 1704 the Holland heirs of the patroon were bought out and the estate thereafter was under ownership of the American branch of the family. At that time the huge manor was divided, into East and West manors. The West Manor was held by the heads of the Van Rensselaer family. The manor on the east side of the Hudson was conveyed by Kiliaen to his brother Hendrick Van Rensselaer and held thereafter by the younger branch of the family. Hendrick had his main residence at Fort Crailo which was known as the Upper Manor. He built the Claverack residence in the Lower Manor for the convenience of the tenants, to save them going the long distance to Fort Crailo or Albany to pay their rents or attend court. The Claverack house, which still stands, is on the road to Great Barrington about a mile east of Claverack village. On rent days Hendrick, as patroon of the East Manor, went there to collect the tenants' fees. He also conducted court there. Hendrick left the estate to his son, Johannes Van

Rensselaer, who was born at Fort Crailo in 1708, and died there in 1783. Fort Crailo is believed to have been the first manor house erected by the Van Rensselaers. Stones in the cellar wall of the original part of the house were inscribed "K.V.P. 1642 Anno Domini" and "Do. Megapolensis." Megapolensis was the clergyman sent over by the patroon in 1642, for whom Van Curler was instructed to build a house in the "Grunen Bosh," Greenbush—the former name of the city of Rensselaer.

The extent to which lands were being taken up was indicated by other patents granted by Dongan during his brief term of office. The Governor confirmed a patent for lands at Catskill purchased by Dirk T. Van Vechten, in 1686, and two years before issued a patent to Guysbert Van der Bogaert for Catskill lands later known as the Lindsay Patent. Hendrick de Bruyn, a leading land buyer, obtained a patent in upper Columbia County in 1686 for lands previously purchased from the Indians, and the next year Dongan granted the Great Kinderhook Patent to De Bruyn and thirty-one other settlers who had acquired Indian lands and desired perfected titles. Peter Schuyler received an eight hundred-acre patent along the Great New England Path, an Indian trail in the vicinity of Kinderhook, now said to form a portion of the right of way of the Boston & Albany Railroad.

Among other patents issued by Dongan was one to Thomas Pell for Pelham Manor in 1687. It was an era of expansion which had been carried out, as it seemed, in the nick of time.

On May 29, 1686, several weeks before he granted the Albany charter, Governor Dongan received instructions from King James which fell as a heavy blow. James, as King, decided to wipe out the liberties he had granted to the people of the Province as Duke. The King revoked the Charter of Liberties which the first General Assembly had adopted, and dismissed the Assembly. The government was to rest in the hands of the Governor's Council only. No printing press could be owned or used in the Province without special authority. But liberty of conscience and religion was still permitted. James failed to approve the previous acts of the Assembly, but in the absence of a veto the county, city and town governments continued to function. The gap in representative rule continued until 1691, when the accession of William and Mary brought a revival of the General Assembly.

Dongan, who had been energetically pushing the Indian trade, sending expeditions into the western country, spent the winter of 1687-88 in Albany with a considerable military force, fearing an invasion from Canada. He was relieved of command, when on April 7,

1688, King James merged New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire into one province named "New England." Andros was appointed Governor, Dongan returning to England with apparently little appreciation of his work from the Crown. He does not again enter the story of Colonial history. The union of the provinces did not last long, proving unpopular, and terminating with the departure of James II from the throne.

Governor Fletcher's census of the city and county of Albany in 1689 showed 2,016 inhabitants, including 662 men, 340 women and 1,014 children. Some years later, and for an extended period due to its immense size, the population of Albany County exceeded that of New York. The total population of the Province in 1689 was eighteen thousand. Estimates of the Indian population vary but probably exceeded this total. In the Five Nations in 1677, Wentworth Greenhalgh found 2,150 warriors, which would indicate an Iroquois population in the territory of old Albany County alone in excess of ten thousand natives.

An interesting description of the region was given by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, Labadist missionaries from Friesland, Holland, who toured the Province in 1680 in search of a location for a colony which they finally placed in Maryland. Their trip up the Hudson in a sloop brought them into contact with people from the Albany frontier whose mannerisms were much different from the dwellers in less remote and perilous regions. They wrote:

> "We left New York about three o'clock in the afternoon with a southerly wind, in company with about twenty passengers of all classes, young and old, who made great noise and bluster in a boat not so large as a common ferry-boat in Holland; and as these people live in the interior of the country somewhat nearer the Indians they are more wild and untamed, reckless, unrestrained, haughty and more addicted to misusing the blessed name of God, and to cursing and swearing . . . . They put on board some tons of oysters which are not to be found at Fort Albany or away from salt-water."

On arrival at Albany they found an aid in Robert Sanders, a fur trader, who in 1670 had received a patent from Governor Lovelace to a tract in the present Lansingburg section of Troy. Sanders provided them with horses and they visited Cohoes Falls, riding horseback along the river road. They described the falls as the "greatest falls not only in New Netherland but in North America."

"As you come near the falls, yon can hear the roaring which makes everything tremble" [they wrote], "but on reaching them and looking at them, you see something wonderful, a great manifestation of God's power and sovereignty."

The following day they made a trip to Schenectady—spelled "Schoonechtendeel," which they described as "lying about twenty-four miles west or northwest of Albany toward the country of the Maquas."

"We rode over a fine, sandy cart road through a wood of nothing but beautiful evergreens or fir trees, but a light and barren soil" [they stated]. "The village proper of Schenectady is a square set off by palisades. There may be about thirty houses which are situated on the side of the Maquas kill (Mohawk River), a stream they cannot use for carrying goods up or down in yachts or boats. There are no fish in it except trout, sun-fish and other kinds peculiar to rivers, because the Cahoos stops the ascent of others, which is a great inconvenience for the *menange* and for bringing down the produce."

After a call at the home of "Madam Rentselaer," widow of the son of the founder of Rensselaerwyck, in the manor house at the north end of Albany, they inspected Castle Island, where they saw the the ruins of an ancient fort built by the first traders or possibly by earlier visitors to Albany, who they thought might have been Spaniards. Of Albany, they wrote:

"It is nearly square, and lies against a hill, with several good streets, on which there may be eighty or ninety houses. Fort Orange, constructed by the Dutch lies below on the bank of the river and is set off with palisades filled in with earth on the inside. It is now abandoned by the English who have built a similar one back of the town, high up on the declivity of the hill, from which it commands the place. From the other side of this fort, the inhabitants have brought a spring of water, under the fort, and under the ground into the town, where they have in several places fountains always of clear, fresh, cool water.

"The town is surrounded by palisades, and has several gates corresponding to the streets. It has a Dutch Reformed and a Lutheran Church. The Lutheran minister lives up here in the winter and down in New York in the summer. There is no English church, or place of meeting. As this is the principal

> trading fort with the Indians and as the privilege of trading is granted to certain merchants, there are houses or lodges erected on both sides of the town, where the Indians who come from the far interior to trade live during the time they are there. This time of trading with the Indians is at its height in the month of June and July and also in August, when it falls off; because it is then the best time for them to make their journeys there and back as well as for the Hollanders, on account of their harvests."

Returning in a sloop partly laden with grain for New York the missionaries anchored one afteroon at Kinderhook, "where a certain female trader had more grain to be carried down the river." The sloop halted once more at Claverack, where the voyagers went ashore and visited several farms, which they found in a highly prosperous condition. They were much impressed by the beauty of the whole region; impressed also by the perils and hardships of frontier life.

The chartering of Albany as a city was a significant event. The new free government had scarcely been set up before the authority conferred upon it to control the Indian trade began to have far-reaching results. The French of Canada saw in this grant a challenge to its Colonial ambitions. The challenge it now determined to accept. The next decade was the most perilous in the city's history down to the Revolution itself.

CHAPTER XI

The Schenectady Massacre

De Courcelles' "Snowshoe Expedition" to Mohawk Valley—Saved from Starvation by Dutch—Iroquois Block French Plans of Conquest, Raided by De Tracy, Who Claims the Territory—Dongan Opposes French Aims, Send Out Traders—King James II. Abdicates, Succeeded by William and Mary—Count Frontenac Sent to France by Louis XIV to Conquer Albany and New York under De Callieres' Plan—Schenectady Massacre, February 8-9, 1690, Sixty Killed, Many Captives Taken—Fort Gates Unguarded—Adam Vrooman's Heroic Fight—Albany Convention, Resisting Leisler, Rules the County—New Attacks Threatened—Heavy Losses of the War—Miller's Description of Albany and Schenectady Forts.

Early in 1666 occurred a dramatic incident. Governor Rémy de Courcelles, of Canada, in the dead of winter traveled on snowshoes from Quebec with five hundred French soldiers, intending to descend on the Mohawk Indian castles. Nearing the Mohawk River, on February ninth, being two miles from Schenectady, sixty of his best fusileers were brought into an ambuscade by the Mohawks. He lost eleven men and others were wounded. His scouts soon after reported the main body of Mohawks were away on a war in Florida, and there were only children and old women at home in the native villages. Courcelles' men had suffered greatly from cold and exposure and were near starvation. Abandoning the attack on the Indians, the Governor sought aid from the people of Schenectady, received food and sent seven wounded to Albany to be cared for. He did not move his detachment into Schenectady, fearing if "he had brought his weary and half starved people within smell of a chimney corner they'd run away."

Arent Van Curler, with other leaders, visited De Courcelles' camp to ask what he meant by coming into the territory of the English King. The Frenchman replied he had not known New Netherland had passed to the British Crown. After his men had rested, they returned to Canada. De Courcelles commented ungraciously on the kind-hearted reception he had received saying that the "Dutch bores (boers) car-

ryed to the camp such provisions as they had and were too well paid for it, especially peaz and bread of which a good quantyty was bought." While there, however, De Courcelles had not failed to inquire regarding the strength of the Albany garrison. He was told there was "a captain and sixty men with nine pieces of ordnance in a small fort with four bastions, and that the captain had sent for another garrison of twenty men of the King's at Sopes."



Palatine Church, 1770, Palatine Bridge

The expedition was remarkable in several respects. It proved that the French could come on snowshoes through two hundred miles of wilderness to invade the Mohawk Valley, and was therefore prescient of things to come. It disturbed the security of the Mohawks, who had relied much on the remoteness of their retreat. It revealed to the burghers of Albany and Schenectady that their own locations were exposed to northern attack. The kindly treatment the Dutch accorded De Courcelles was strangely repaid. When the French visited Schenectady again they wiped out the town in a massacre whose echoes have not died in two hundred and fifty years of history.

The destruction of the village by slaughter and burning on the night of February 8-9, 1690, resulting in death to sixty inhabitants and captivity for twenty-seven others, was an event not equalled in ferocity in that region until the Tory-Indian raids swept the Mohawk and adjacent valleys in the Revolution. Staged on a bitterly cold night when the town was completely surprised, many of the circumstances have never been satisfactorily explained. What the French hoped to gain is one of the uncertainties, since they did not attempt to hold the town they had captured, but afterward fled to Canada with booty and prisoners, the latter being men and boys, the only ones who could walk through the heavy snow. There appears no doubt, moreover, that the attack originally was planned against Albany, but the Canadian Indians refused to risk an assault on the larger and better defended place.

As to what inspired the attack there is more definite information. Since Champlain's time the hostility of the Iroquois for the Canadian Indians had been an accepted fact. Resentful of their earlier expulsion at the hands of Algonkins and Hurons, the Iroquois waged ceaseless wars on those tribes and decimated them heavily. Since the Hurons and Ottawas were engaged in carrying furs to the French, the latter often saw whole expeditions wiped out, furs seized and carried off to the Iroquois country. In Canada, the fur trade was a royal monopoly. While the French claimed the interior of the country, including the Great Lakes, by reason of the Jesuit explorations, the fierce Iroquois proved a constant barrier to expansion. To make up for De Courcelles' ineffectiveness, Governor De Tracy of Canada, late in 1666, raided the Mohawk Valley with one thousand five hundred men, burning three Mohawk villages on the south side of the river. Scouts gave the alarm, and the savages escaped. But the damage was so severe the villages of Gandawague, at Auriesville; Andagaron, near Fultonville, and Tionontogere, near Sprakers, had to be relocated. The Iroquois were so inspired by the French prowess that they made peace with De Tracy and accepted Jesuit missions, which soon were established in each Nation. De Tracy then claimed the whole Mohawk Valley for France.

Count de Frontenac, becoming Canadian Governor in 1672, built Fort Frontenac (Kingston), on the St. Lawrence River near Lake Ontario, thus more definitely staking out territorial claims to the interior. In 1676 he sent LaSalle to Niagara to build a fort. LaSalle afterward made his famous journey down the Ohio and Mississippi, spreading the French claims to that region. Governor Lovelace, of

New York, commenting on the French encroachments, said they "pretent it is no more but to advance the kingdom of Christ, when it is to be suspected it is rather the kingdom of his Most Christian Majesty" (the French King). Governor Andros in 1675 made a trip one hundred miles west of Albany to visit the Iroquois castles and encourage them not to yield to French sovereignty or blandishments. But by the time Dongan arrived as Governor of New York, a good deal of the fur trade had been diverted to Montreal. More than two hundred Mohawks had been converted by the Jesuits and moved to a village established near Montreal, called "Caughnawaga" after their old home on the Mohawk River. Here Kryn, the Mohawk chief, went to reside in 1676. The settlement became noted as that of the "Praying Indians."

The question as to who controlled the Iroquois, however, was far from settled, and formed the basis of forest diplomacy. While the English and French wooed them, the Five Nations carried on wars of conquest against native tribes aided by the guns, powder and ball obtained from the whites for their furs. The Iroquois conquered the New England Indians in the seventies, extended their sway over the Susquehannocks and southern Indians in a series of raids, and after a seven-year war with the Illinois and Miamis brought them under control in 1687. The boundary of Virginia was set at the Potomac at a treaty conference in Albany. Occupying this strategic position, the Iroquois were disposed to drive a high bargain for their favor, seeing that if either French or English became supreme, Indian lands would be endangered.

Viewing the serious inroads on the old Iroquois alliance the French had made, Dongan endeavored to regain lost advantage. He sent Arnout Cornelis Viele, trader and interpreter of Schenectady, to make contacts with the western Indians. Viele became the first or second white man to see the Ohio. Dongan sent out other trading expeditions. Furs had mostly disappeared from New York State by that time and the West had become the all-important country. Dongan licensed several persons to trade English goods among the western tribes. One such expedition, headed by Abel Marion LaFontaine, a French deserter, left from Schenectady in 1685. Johannes Roseboom, member of a prominent Albany family, was on the trip. Eleven canoes were laden with goods and rum. They returned unharmed with great quantities of furs after a trip up the Lakes to the Huron and Ottawa country. An expedition in 1686 had worse luck. Roseboom was sent to the Strait of Mackinack and was captured by the French. Dongan

sent Captain Patrick McGregorie with twenty canoes to the same place and he also was captured. Trading goods sufficient for eight thousand beavers were seized. LaFontaine was shot. Roseboom and McGregorie were sent to Montreal where they were put at hard labor as servants to farmers, but were released the same year. In 1684 Dongan had given the King's arms to the Iroquois to put on their castles, and officially claimed them as subjects of England. Two years later he gave Albany the monopoly of the English fur trade. His energetic campaign began to bring results. Prices for Indian goods were lower at Albany than at Montreal. While encouraging the Mohawks to drive out the Jesuit missionaries, due to their influence in causing the removal of converted tribesmen to Canada, Dongan promised them other religious counselors. Writing to the London Committee on Trade in 1687, Dongan said:

> "It will be very necessary for us to encourage our young men to goe a Beaver Hunting as the French doe. . . . .
>
> "The great difference between us is about the Beaver trade and in truth they have the advantage of us in it and that by noe other meanes than by their industry in making discoveries in the country before us.
>
> "Before my coming hither noe man of our Government ever went beyond the Sinicaes country. Last year some of our people went a trading among the farr Indians called the Ottowais inhabiting about three months journey to the West and W.N.W of Albany from whence they brought a good many Beavers. They found their people more inclined to trade with them than the French, the French not being able to protect them from the arms of our Indians, with whom they have had a continued warr, soe that our Indians brought away this very last year a great many prisoners.
>
> "The five Indian nations are the most warlike people in America and are a bulwark between us and the French and all other Indians. They goe as far as the South Sea to the North West passage and Florida to warr. New England in their last warr with the Indians had been ruined had not Sr Edmund Andros sent some of those nations to their assistance, and indeed they are soe considerable that all the Indians in these parts of America are tributary to them. I suffer no Christians to converse with them any where but at Albany and that not without my license."

In July, 1687, Denonville, Canadian Governor, sought to check Dongan's progress by raiding the Senecas. He destroyed their villages and claimed sovereignty over them. He committed a further indiscretion in seizing fifty Iroquois and sending them to the French galleys as slaves at the behest of Louis XIV. In revenge one thousand five hundred Iroquois in 1689 hurled themselves on the Island of Montreal, marauding for several days and killing more than one hundred persons.

The situation, growing in intensity, was now further complicated by the abdication of James II, Catholic King of England in December, 1688. Called to the throne were William Prince of Orange and his wife, Mary, Protestant daughter of James. They were not proclaimed in Albany as the new rulers until July 1, 1689, so slowly did news travel. Burghers who had recollections of the English conquest of the Province twenty-five years before, now found they had become subjects of a Dutch King of England.

Confusion that followed James II's dethronement, was accelerated by the actions of Jacob Leisler, a New York City resident. In Massachusetts, Governor Andros, officeholder under James, was imprisoned. Demanding removal of all of James' adherents, Leisler seized control of New York City, intending to remain until the Governor appointed by the new monarchs should arrive. Albany declined to follow his lead, and August 1, 1689, formed a convention government, headed by Mayor Peter Schuyler and composed of the aldermen and military officers of Albany County. Schenectady members included Captain Sander and Johannes Glen, Jan Van Eps and Sweer Teunise Van Velsen. It was an act of independence of a type with the Revolutionary committee government formed in the struggle for liberty eighty-six years later. The "convention" immediately made preparations for defense of the city against the French, new reports of an impending attack being heard. One of its first acts was to forbid departure from the city of any one resident there six months or longer who could bear arms. Whoever "fled upon ye late news of ye approach of ye french and there Indians" were "to be pursued & followed after as fugitives Cowards & Runnaways & Vagabonds and as such to be prosecuted by ye utmost severity of ye Law."

The convention also ordered that guns, powder and ball for fifty persons be stored in the Dutch Church. Declaration of war by England against France heightened the situation. An appeal was sent to New England for troops and Connecticut responded with a detachment of eighty-nine men under Captain Jonathan Bull. Jacob Mil-

burne, Leisler's lieutenant, meantime endeavored to win Schenectadians to the usurper's cause, informing them that they would be "preferred" in the new government of the Province, and promising also to grant them licenses to trade with the Indians and bolt flour. Captain Sander Glen opposed Leisler, but some Schenectady citizens favored his régime.

On January 20, 1690, the Albany convention hired forty Mohawk scouts to sit on the trail to Lake George and give warning of approach of any attackers from Canada. Delegates were sent to Schenectady to warn the people to be on the alert. Twenty-four Connecticut soldiers under Lieutenant Talmadge were sent to the Schenectady fort.

Fears of French attack were not exaggerated. Soon after James left the English throne, Chevalier Hector de Callières Bonnevue, deputy under Denonville, drafted a plan for the invasion of New York. He proposed to send one thousand men south from Montreal to march upon Albany, capture it and, going down the Hudson, take New York City with the aid of two warships coming by sea. Resistance would not be great, he felt. Albany, which he called "Orange," contained about "150 houses and 300 inhabitants capable of bearing arms, the majority of whom are Dutch besides a number of French refugees and some English people."

"After having invested the town and summoned it to surrender with the promise not to pillage it, if it capitulate," wrote Callières, "I propose in case of resistance to cut or burn the palisades in order to afford an opening and enter there sword in hand and seize the fort. These palisades which are only about fourteen feet high can easily be scaled by means of the conveniences we shall find when masters of the town, or the place may be entered by blowing in the gate with a few petards or two small field pieces which may be of use to me."

After becoming "master of the town and fort of Orange," Callières asserted he would grant pardon to French deserters he found there and leaving a garrison of two hundred, proceed to the conquest of New York. Inhabitants who refused allegiance to the French were to be deported. Louis XIV approved the Callières plan and reappointed aged Count de Frontenac as Governor of Canada to carry it out, as the only means of breaking the Iroquois stranglehold on French commerce and aims. In its main features the plan previsioned the Burgoyne campaign of 1777 to split the Colonies. Fortunately for New York, Frontenac reached Canada too late in the season to launch the planned attack, and had to devise other means. Only a few weeks before, the Illinois, Miamis and other western

Indians conquered by the Iroquois had agreed at Onondaga to join against the French, and Frontenac had to move quickly to save the French position.

He drew a new plan calling for a threefold movement. One expedition was to set out from Quebec against Portland, Maine; another from Three Rivers was to hit New Hampshire; and the third, from Montreal, was to strike Albany, but descended on Schenectady instead. The expedition consisted of 114 Frenchmen and 80 savages, mostly Algonkins and Praying Indians, commanded by Sieur Lemoine de Saint Hélène and Lieutenant D'Aillebout de Mantet. Kryn, the Mohawk chief, led the savages. It was another invasion on snowshoes. Leaving Montreal December 17, 1689, they carried provisions for a twenty-two days' trip. The snow was four to six feet deep.

Most accounts say that Schenectady then had eighty houses and four hundred inhabitants, though Pearson believed there were less. The town was enclosed in a wooden stockade of pine logs ten feet high. It had at least two gates, one at the north end of Church Street opening to Front Street and the Niskayuna Road; another at the south end of Church Street opening to Mill Lane, the Flats and the Albany Road (now State Street). In the northern angle of the village, on the Binnekill, was a doubly stockaded fort, garrisoned by the Connecticut soldiers. Thus equipped it should have been possible to repel the attack, but, says Munsell, there were "divided counsels and fatal apathy" due to the Leisler controversy. Reliance, too, had been placed in the Mohawk scouts sent to Lake George. But the scouts missed the invaders, probably not arriving at their post until the French had passed.

As they neared the village, the French account says the raiders found a wigwam with four squaws and sent one of them to get information. (There are variations of the story, one being that a squaw went into the town with the intention of giving an alarm, but on being reproved by the wife of Domine Peter Tasschenmaker, the Dutch clergyman, for not wiping her feet at the door, went away in disgust.)

At eleven o'clock at night, February eighth, the party waited on the north side of the river, their presence undisclosed. Somewhat to the west at Scotia was the strongly fortified house of Sander Glen, a leading fur trader of Schenectady. The French intended waiting until 2 A. M. for the assault, but the cold was so intense that St. Hélène gave the order forthwith. They stole across the ice, a squaw pointing out the north gate. They were amazed to find it open and (as some accounts say) with snow men built in the entrance in derision

of fears of invasion. Deploying along the streets, from end to end of the town, they waited a signal, an Indian cry, from the commander. When it was given, the invaders fell upon the houses and fort simultaneously. Men, wómen and children were slain in their beds. Most of the houses were located along Albany Street, which afterward was called Martyrs Street, since most of the bodies were found there. Four of the garrison were slain and others captured. Orders had been issued to save the clergyman, Domine Tasschenmaker, but in the mêlée he could not be identified and was murdered with the rest. The torch was applied to the homes.

Symon Schermerhorn, wounded in the thigh, escaped by the Niskayuna gate, rode horseback through the deep snow twenty miles to the north gate at Albany, Broadway and Steuben streets, where he fell exhausted, gasping out his story. The fort guns were fired, awakening the inhabitants. Other refugees straggled in, some wounded and dying. Size of the French force was elaborated to many times the actual number. Expecting attack, Albany remained armed to the teeth for hours, finally sending a posse, which followed the retreating Frenchmen and killed a number of them.

The pillage of Schenectady continued until ten o'clock the morning of the ninth, when surveying the ruins, the French commander gathered his prisoners and fifty horses laden with booty and started for the north. Only two of the French party were slain in the massacre. The return trip was more costly, the party having to eat most of the horses before they reached home, and nineteen men were lost.

All that was left standing was five or six houses. Among the massacre's survivors was Adam Vrooman, who single-handed put up such a violent struggle that the Indians spared his life, though his wife and child were brutally slain. Sander Glen, spared because of previous courtesies to French prisoners, was permitted to save a number of captives, hailing them as relatives. The privilege was withdrawn, however, when he sought to claim too many.

The list of sixty dead included women and children of all ages. Among them were: Myndert Wemp; Jan Van Eps, his son and two of the latter's children; Andries Arentse Bratt, who was "shott and burnt & also his children"; Maria Viele, wife of Dowe Aukes, and her two children; Maria, wife of Cornelis Viele, Jr.; Sweer Teunisse Van Velsen and his wife, killed and burned; Gerrit Marcellis and his wife and child; Jan Roeloffse, son of the late Annetje Jans; Domine Peter Tasschenmaker; Frans Harmanse Van der Bogaert; Adam Vrooman's wife and child; Dr. Reynier Schaets and his son; Johannes,

son of Symon Schermerhorn; Barent Janse van Ditmars and his son; Lieutenant Talmadge and Sergt. Church of Captain Bull's Connecticut company and other soldiers; a number of Negroes; a French girl prisoner among the Mohawks, and a Mohawk. Lives of twenty Mohawks were spared by the French, who told them their quarrel was with the English, not the Indians. A list is extant of fifty-seven heads of families who escaped the massacre.

It is a commentary on the times that the principal French account of the raid was written by Mons. de Monseignat, Comptroller-General of the Marine of Canada, to Mme. de Maintenon, morganatic wife of Louis XIV, for the entertainment of her boudoir circle. It is from his account that we learn of the diversion of the attack from Albany to Schenectady. De Monseignat wrote that after marching five or six days, from Canada the Indians demanded that the French name their destination. The French replied that while their orders were generally to act where they believed they had the best chance of success, they hoped to attack "Orange, if possible, as it is the Capital of New York and a place of considerable importance."

> "This appeared to the savages somewhat rash" [the account continues]. "They represented the difficulties and the weakness of the party for so bold an undertaking. There was even one among them who, his mind filled with the recollections of the disasters which he had witnessed last year, enquired of the Frenchmen, 'since when had they become so desperate?' In reply to their raillery, 'twas answered that it was our intention, now, to regain the honor of which our misfortunes had deprived us, and the sole means to accomplish that was to carry Orange, or to perish in so glorious an enterprise.
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> "As the Indians, who had an intimate acquaintance with the localities, and more experience than the French, could not be brought to agree with the latter, it was determined to postpone coming to a conclusion until the party should arrive at the spot where the two routes separate—the one leading to Orange, and the other to Corlear (Schenectady). In the course of the journey, which occupied eight days, the Frenchmen judged proper to diverge towards Corlear, according to the advice of the Indians."

An original report of the massacre was written in the records of the Albany Common Council of February 9, 1690, by Robert Living-

ston, Jr., nephew of the first Lord of Livingston Manor, who was city clerk. It describes the confusion in the city as refugees from the massacre came in, with reports that a French Army was headed for Albany, one thousand four hundred strong. Expresses were sent to alarm farmers at Schaghticoke, Kinderhook and Claverack, and an emissary dispatched to the Mohawks to come down to a conference. The Albany Convention on February fifteenth sent a letter to New England authorities describing the event, with pleas for aid due to the hazardous condition of the frontier. Food was requested for the survivors of the massacre.

> "The Cruelties Committed at Sd Place" [read this letter] "no Pen can write nor tongue express. Ye women bigg with childe ripd up and ye Children alive Throwne in to ye flames and there heads dashd in pieces against ye doors and windows. . . . . Ye poor People yt Escaped and brought us the news about break of day did so much Increase ye number of ye Enemy that wee all Concluded there was a Considerable army comeing to fall upon our Citty, ... we being told not only then but ye day after that they were 1400 att Least. We sent out Some few horse forth with after we had Recd ye news but Scarcely gatt throw ye deep Snow."

While the pursuing posse was harassing the retreating Frenchmen, the Mohawks came to Albany for a powwow on defense. At this meeting it was the Indians who encouraged the settlers not to be dismayed and who advised a joint attack on Canada by all the English Colonies from Virginia north. Had the suggestion been followed, the Colonial wars undoubtedly could have been brought to an early end. It is noteworthy that the savages in 1689 proposed a union for defense, which became the great slogan of the Albany Congress of 1754.

"Now you see your blood spild and this is ye beginning of ye miseries if not suddenly prevented," said the Mohawk spokesman, as the record gives it. "Therefore write to all that are in covenant with us—New England, Virginne and all ye English plantations of America to make all readiness to master Canada early in ye spring, with great ships, else you cannot live in peace." The Mohawks agreed to send 160 of their tribesmen and twenty-five River Indians to pursue the Frenchmen on the way back to Canada.

The leaders of the Albany Convention took the expressions of Iroquois loyalty with a grain of salt, knowing the savage penchant for

being on the winning side. As the letter stated: "Now gentlemen, the Indians speak well, yet we are satisfyed by all there actions that they will side with ye Strongest and ye Indians yt are among the french are all of our Indian Relations so yt can not by imagined that they will destroy on an oyr. (one another). There fore if there Majes subjects doe not Rise against ye french there Mayes Interest in these parts will be destroyed. . . . . We have feeld ye smart of that nation and Pray god our Neighbors may not come to the same disaster."

The Mohawks in the summer of 1690 helped the survivors to rebuild the fort and to harvest their grain. New homes were soon rising. Supplies of clothing were sent from Albany and New York to relieve the stricken people. Gradually a new town rose on the ruins, and settlers returning took up their lives where the massacre had broken them off.

In April, 1690, the Albany Convention found its problems too difficult, and yielded up the city to Leisler. The latter continued Peter Schuyler as mayor, but placed a personal follower in charge of the fort and garrison. In May, a joint expedition with New England was begun against Canada under Fitzjohn Winthrop, of Connecticut, joined by a large number of Indians, but it proceeded no farther than Wood Creek, at the south end of Lake Champlain. Lack of supplies prevented further advance.

Henry Sloughter arrived in March, 1691, under royal appointment as Governor of New York. He reconvened the General Assembly on April ninth, restoring popular rule which James had wiped out. Acts were passed confirming previous legislation and setting up courts of common pleas in each county. One of Sloughter's first measures was to try Leisler for treason and sign the warrant for his execution.

In June, Mayor Peter Schuyler, as major of Albany County Militia, led an expedition against LaPrairie, near Montreal, encountered a superior force, but managed to cut his way through and escape, killing two hundred and losing but forty-three of his own company, twenty-two of whom were Indians. The raid was undertaken chiefly to restore confidence of the Iroquois in English arms after the failure of the Winthrop campaign.

After a visit to Albany at this time, Governor Sloughter wrote:

> "I returned from Albany on the 27th past where I left all things in good posture and with much difficulty have secured the Indians. I found that place in great disorder, our

plantations and Schenectady almost ruined and destroyed by the enemy dureing the time of the late confusion there. I have garrisoned Schenectady and the Halfe Moone (Waterford) with some of the hundred fusileers raised by our Assembly, and the remainder are posted at Albany.

"If the French should assault and gain Albany all the English colonies on both sides of us would be endangered. For we have nothing but that place that keeps our Indians steady to us, and the loss of that must be the loss of all the King's interest on this continent."

Raiding by small parties from Canada, however, continued, coming at one time within sight of Albany, with scalping and shootings of settlers at work in their fields. Governor Fletcher offered fifty shillings for scalps taken within three miles of Albany or Schenectady. In 1697 came the Treaty of Ryswick, ending the war, but failing to decide whether Britain or Canada controlled the Iroquois. Both sides being exhausted, were glad of the peace, though it proved only a lull. In 1698 Governor Bellomont staged a huge peace-making at Albany, pouring lavish gifts on the Five Nations. He reported that in the winter of 1697-98, the French had prepared a force of one thousand five hundred soldiers to come on "raquetts or snowshoes" to attack Albany, which was averted miraculously. The weather, which was the severest on record, the snow "being deeper than the height of a man," prevented their coming.

Describing his Indian conference, Governor Bellomont said: "It was the greatest fatigue I ever under went in my whole life. I was shut up in a close chamber with fifty sachems who besides the stink of bear's grease with which they plentifully dawb'd themselves, were either smoaking tobacco or drinking drams of rum."

A census taken by order of Governor Fletcher in 1697 was completed in the spring of 1698. It revealed the great hardship that Albany County had suffered. More than 150 farms had been destroyed by enemy raiders. The population of the county had dropped from 662 men, 340 women and 1,014 children in 1689 to 382 men, 262 women and 805 children. There were twenty-three Negroes in the county in 1698. The number of Christians listed as having "departed from the city and county since the beginning of ye war" was placed at 280 men, 68 women and 209 children, including those killed by the enemy and those taken captive. The number of Indian warriors had been reduced by half during the decade. The

count of savages in 1698 was: Mohawks, 110; Oneidas, 70; Onondagas, 250; Cayugas, 200; Senecas, 600; River Indians, 90; 1,320 in all. The Iroquois count appears to be low. The tribes were constantly refilling their ranks from nations they had previously conquered. But they had suffered greatly. In 1693 Frontenac, with five hundred French and Indians, had made a devastating attack on the Mohawks' castles, burning Caughnawaga, Canagorha and Tionondogue, and capturing the inhabitants. The Mohawks then established one village at Tribes Hill, which they used until 1700. In



Johnson Hall, 1763, Johnstown

1695 Frontenac delivered another fierce blow farther west on the Onondagas and Oneidas. The two strokes seriously weakened the English allies. Had the French not been deterred by the harsh winter of 1697, their assault on Albany could easily have brought the capitulation of the Province.

Two famous diagrams of Albany and the fort of Schenectady were made about this time by the Rev. John Miller, chaplain of the British garrison at New York. Albany is shown enclosed in palisades extending from the Hudson River to the State Street hillside, where Andros built the new wooden fort in 1676. Miller gives the detail

of the fort revealing it had twenty-one guns. Some pointed from the four bastions into the wilderness; others protectively overlooked the city which lay below.

Miller said the city contained about two hundred houses, "a fourth part of what there is reckoned to be in New York."

> "The form of it is septangular" [he wrote] "and the longest line that which buts upon the river running from north to south. On the west angle is the fort, quadrangular, strongly stockadoed and ditched round, having in it twenty-one pieces of ordnance mounted. On the northwest side are two block houses, and on the southwest as many; on the southeast angle stands one block house; in the middle of the line from thence northward is a horned work and on the northeast angle a mount.
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> "The whole city is well stockaded round, and in the several fortifications are about thirty guns. Dependent on the city and about twenty miles distance to the northward from it, is the Fort of Scanectade, quadrangular, with a treble stockado, a new blockhouse at every angle, and in each blockhouse two great guns; and Nestigayune (Niskayuna) and Half Moon, places formerly of some account, but now deserted. On this city also depends the Fort at the Flats, four miles from Albany, belonging to the River Indians who are about 60 families; it is stockadoed round, has a blockhouse and a mount, but no great guns. There are in it five Indian wigwams and a house or two serving in case of necessity for the soldiers, in number 24 who are the guard there."

Miller's drawing of Schenectady revealed how the fort had been rebuilt after the massacre. It was situated in the angle formed by the junction of the Binnekill and the Mohawk, and contained two large Indian long houses, or wigwams, besides twenty-eight houses of settlers. Gates were at the south and west. One blockhouse was built for use as a church. Thus Schenectady had been reëstablished, in the face of extreme danger. The dauntless courage of its inhabitants in again inhabiting the outpost twenty miles west of Albany after so great a disaster speaks volumes for the spirit that prevailed on this frontier. The perils were not over. But the French never again came quite that far south.

CHAPTER XII

The Palatine Settlements

Largest Pre-Revolution Immigration—Palatines Driven from Rhineland Flee to London—Offered Land in Schoharie by Mohawk Indian Chief—Taken to Queen Anne by Peter Schuyler—Hunter Buys Six Thousand Acres at Livingston Manor—Palatines Sail in Ten Ships—Turpentine Experiment Fails, They Seek Homes in Schoharie, Trekking Over the Helderbergs—Found Seven Dorfs—Hunter Grants Land Patents to Dutch—Weiser Departs for Pennsylvania—Others Go to Mohawk Where Governor Burnet Gives Them Stone Arabia and Burnetsfield Patents—Herkimer Family Arrives, 1722—Early Palatine Churches.

The immigration of the Palatines to New York State had widespread effects. These devout, impoverished folk from the German Rhineland of Alsace, Lorraine, Württemberg, Baden and adjacent regions—ever the cockpit of Europe—formed the largest group of settlers to come to New York at one time before the Revolution. Forced by religious oppression to leave the Old World, they encountered in the New sufferings and privations that would have discouraged a less hardy people.

As refugees, they came to America under British auspices to make tar and turpentine for the Royal Navy and to "act as a barrier against the French and Indians." The tar-making experiment failed, but in the rôle of defenders of the frontier they achieved much. Some settled permanently on the Hudson; others going to the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys pushed back the frontiers west of Albany and Schenectady to a degree not before attempted. Their descendants became the stalwarts who at supreme sacrifice in cause of American liberty heroically under Herkimer at Oriskany stopped St. Leger's advance in the bloodiest battle of the Revolution. With the Dutch in both valleys they endured the Tory-Indian massacres of that war with unflinching loyalty.

Thousands of descendants of the pioneer families remain in the valleys where the Palatines underwent their trials over two centuries

ago. Names of many of the early settlements are reminiscent of these struggles, such as Rhinebeck, Germantown, Newburgh, on the Hudson; Hartman's Dorf in the Schoharie; Mindenville, Manheim, Palatine Bridge, Oppenheim and Newkirk in the Mohawk region. The Palatines have furnished many outstanding leaders in American affairs. Of this group was John Peter Zenger, former printer's apprentice, who established the freedom of the press in 1733. Another was William C. Bouck, of Schoharie, the State's famous farmer Governor of 1843-44. Jurists, inventors, industrialists and others have since added to the distinguished roll.

The populating of three valleys was thus extensively undertaken by the Palatines. On the Hudson they occupied a southerly corner of the Manor of Livingston and the opposite locale of West Camp, near Saugerties, as well as sections about Newburgh and Rhinebeck; on the Schoharie they had seven "dorfs" or farm villages, spreading ten miles along the creek. The upper Mohawk for thirty miles was dotted with the cabins of these pioneers. The fifty-mile belt on the river between Fonda and the Hudson was largely settled by the Dutch. Scotch, English and Irish began filtering into the Mohawk and adjacent regions a few years afterward, notably at Cherry Valley and Fort Johnson in 1738-40 and thereafter.

Until these pioneers put in an appearance the wilderness still "howled" about the western limits of Schenectady and the region beyond was deeply wooded, occupied by treacherous savages, filled with sudden perils. It was inevitable, as European civilization advanced, that these valleys should be opened and the savages made to retire. History gave into the hands of these sturdy, humble people a striking rôle in carrying forward the pioneer work of the Dutch in this achievement.

Before the coming of the Palatines in the period, 1709-25, Jeptha R. Simms, frontier chronicler wrote, "only here and there a white man, it is believed, had the temerity to plant his family in the Mohawk Valley very distant from Schenectada. Here and there an Indian trader may have taken a squaw to wife and dwelt among the Mohawks; now and then a Dutchman or an Englishman may have pitched his tent among them; but such cases were rare any distance above Schenectada as early as the year 1700."

Those who had ventured into this border country, from the Dutch settlements of Albany and Schenectady, possessed unbelievable hardihood. As Simms says, they were only a handful. Among them were Alexander Lindsay Glen, whose Scotia settlement of 1658 has

been cited; Claes Andries de Grave (de Graff), believed to have been a Huguenot employed by the Dutch West India Company as a trader, who located on a cove at the west end of Scotia. In 1670 Daniel Janse Van Antwerp, Dutchman, built the famous Mabie house in Rotterdam. In 1684 Claes Willemse Van Coppernoll, also Dutch, began a settlement at Willigas Flat, near South Amsterdam, eleven miles west of Schenectady. Karel Hansen Toll and his wife, formerly Lysbet Rinckhout, took up an abode in a dugout east of Hoffmans, eight miles west of Schenectady. Philip de Groot, a Schenectadian, was drowned attempting to locate a settlement at present Cranesville in 1715, which was actually begun by his widow and her three sons in 1716, thirteen miles west of Schenectady. They built a gristmill on the Evaskill, the pioneer mill in that part of the country. In 1713 the Hansen brothers had a home thirty miles from Schenectady which marked the beginning of the Dutch village of Fonda, later named for Douw Fonda who settled in 1750. Until 1693 Fonda was the site of a noted Indian castle, Caughnawaga. Westernmost settler of all in that period was Hendrick Frey, native of Zurich, Switzerland, who built a log cabin in 1689 a little west of Palatine Bridge, opposite Canajoharie, forty miles west of Schenectady. He became a trader, managed somehow to escape Indian atrocities and met his death by natural causes. His outpost store was continued by his son. A stone house, built there in 1739, was fortified for defense in the French-Indian wars and also used as a place of refuge in the Revolution.

The Palatines carried the van of settlement westward and today the Mohawk Valley contains many evidences of the pioneer Dutch and Palatine habitations. Some of the early fortified homes remain as mute relics of the perilous days. Several pioneer Reformed and Lutheran churches staunchly stand, evidence of the intermingling of High Dutch and Low. In the gradual fusing of the races, there grew up the descriptive term for valley residents—"Mohawk Dutch"—and some today recall "Mohawk Dutch" as a speech in which Dutch, German, English and Indian words strangely mingled.

In many respects the Palatine story resembles the Biblical account of the Exodus, the wandering of the tribes and their final attainment of the Promised Land. The circumstances were in all respects unusual, even to the belief which evidence and tradition tend to corroborate, that the original invitation to the Palatines to come to America was extended by one of the Mohawk Indian chiefs whom Peter Schuyler, first mayor of Albany and colonel of Albany County Militia, had taken to London in 1709. While on this diplomatic mission, the chiefs

toured the city, visiting the tent camp of the Palatines on the bank of the Thames. In flight from the brutalities of the French because of European war, the Palatines had sought refuge there. Touched by the condition of these homeless people, a chief is supposed to have told them he would give the Queen some land in America for them to settle on. This land the chief called "Schoharie," adjacent to the valley of the Mohawk on the south. The offer has often been challenged, especially in the opinion that Indians rarely gave land away, but the name "Schoharie," or "Schorie" as they called it, stuck in the minds of the Palatines, and never left them. It remained ever after the symbol of a desired region, El Dorado of their ambition, the place they finally reached after many vicissitudes.

The visit of Schuyler and the chiefs to London is noted in the "Spectator" papers as well as in documents of the period. His objective was to stimulate the Queen's interest in striking a decisive blow against French Canada. The Schenectady massacre had left its terrible impact. The raiding and scalping of settlers about the Albany frontier convinced Schuyler that something would have to be done to place the French in check. Colonel Samuel Vetch had prepared a plan for attacks upon Canada by sea and land. Schuyler thought the Queen would be more impressed if the Indian chiefs were taken over to supplement the plea. Colonel Francis Nicholson accompanied them. The failure of the colonists' attempted expedition under Winthrop in 1709 made necessary a definite pledge from the home government. Two of the chiefs reputedly were Mahikans, the others Mohawks. Among them was King Hendrick, chief of the Mohawk upper castle, who had been a Mahikan captive adopted into the Iroquois tribe. Two others were named by Addison in the "Tatler" and "Spectator" papers as "E Tow O Koam, King of the Rivers," and "Sa Ga Yean Qua Rash Tow." The former has been identified as a Stockbridge Mahikan named Etowankaum.

It is related that five chiefs had set out on the voyage but one died on the way. Queen Anne made much of them, receiving them as visiting royalty, granted an audience, sent them to view the horse guards and the navy, and showered other favors upon them. In their address to the Queen the chiefs urged that "the reduction of Canada would be of great weight to our free hunting." At their request, she provided for the erection of an Indian chapel at Fort Hunter, for which she gave a silver communion service; giving a similar set for a chapel in the Onondaga country. This was in response to the long-standing plea of the savages for chapels to replace those the Jesuits had conducted

prior to their withdrawal to Canada. The Queen offered Schuyler a knighthood which he refused on the ground that it might make his family "vain."

Returning by way of Boston, the Colonials began preparations for the new Canadian attack which Nicholson led in 1711 from Albany northward. It is significant that three companies of Palatines then having crossed the ocean and located on Livingston Manor, were enlisted as volunteers for the Nicholson expedition—their first service in America being against the French from whom they had fled in Europe. The 1711 campaign came to no better end than the others, the British fleet being wrecked in the St. Lawrence River by storms and fog, and nothing was accomplished. Fort Hunter, however, was built that year at the mouth of the Schoharie Creek, where it joins the Mohawk, becoming the "farthest west" outpost. The Indian chapel also was duly erected, the parsonage of which still stands.

There were in the Rhenish provinces of Germany two Palatinates, the upper, or Bavarian and the lower, or Pfalz Palatinate. The immigration to New York was from the latter. The Rhine at this point ran in proximity to the French border, through Coblenz, Bingen and Mainz. The Palatinate included the states of Mainz, Treves, Lorraine, Alsace, Baden and Württemberg, lying along the Rhine from Cologne to and above Mannheim. Chief cities were Heidelberg, the capital; Mannheim and Worms. The Palatine title, an ancient one, supposedly originated as a reward by the Emperor to the master of the royal household. The title became hereditary about the twelfth century. At the time of the Palatine immigration, the ruler was John William of the House of Neuberg, who reigned as Elector Palatine from 1690 to 1716. The names have retained a significance in the Hudson Valley in the city of Newburgh and the adjacent New Paltz (Pfalz) named by the Huguenots in tribute to the German Province that had given them temporary refuge.

The electors had been Protestant as well as their people until John William sought to bring them under the Holy See. Lutherans and Reformed followers alike came under his displeasure. To add to their troubles, Louis XIV felt the French border should be at the Rhine, a doctrine that echoed through the Franco-German wars and the World War. A crisis developed in 1685 when at Mme. de Maintenon's urging, Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which Henry VI had granted safety to the Huguenots. The Huguenot flight then began to Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England and America. The abdication of James II in 1688 and the accession of the Prince of

Orange to the English throne further aroused Louis, who sought to reinstate the fugitive James. England declared war and a nine years' conflict followed, one event of which, as we have seen, was the Schenectady massacre of 1690.

The Palatine departure from the homeland was another result of this uptorn condition. Louis sent fifty thousand men into the Palatinate under General Montclas. Macaulay said the French commander granted them three days of grace in which to shift for themselves. Macaulay wrote: "Soon the roads and fields which then lay deep in snow were blackened by innumerable men, women and children flying from their homes. Many died of cold and hunger, but enough survived to fill the streets of all the cities of Europe with lean and squalid beggars who had once been thriving farmers and shopkeepers." Cities on the Rhine above Cologne were burned. The peace



Fort Wagner, 1750, on Mohawk Turnpike

of Ryswick in 1697 provided but a short interruption to the pillage, the English-French war resuming in 1701, lasting until 1713. Little was accomplished except the capture of Gibraltar in 1704 by England, which she retained. The Palatinate was raided again in 1707, which was followed by a severe winter and a general exodus.

It has been estimated that thirteen thousand Palatines fled to London in 1708 and 1709. Some went to Ireland; about seven thousand five hundred to America, and five thousand became English residents. Their influx to London seems to have been assisted by English land agents who circulated pictures of Queen Anne among the troubled people, but no definite American immigration scheme was heard until after their arrival in London. The flight across the channel caused a housing problem. The Queen made the Palatines a subsistence allowance of nine pence a day. They were quartered in ware-

houses, barns, and a thousand tents were pitched on the Surrey side of the Thames.

In 1708 a small group of Palatines, forty-nine in all, applied to the I ord of Trade for transportation to America. The petition of the Rev. Joshua Kockerthal, an Evangelical Lutheran minister, said they had come from the lower Palatinate and had been "reduced to this miserable condition by the ravages committed by the French, when they lost all they had." They were sent over with Governor Lovelace in 1708, settling at Quassaick Creek, part of the present city of Newburgh. An area of 2,190 acres was presented to them in 1719. The same year Kockerthal died. He was buried at West Camp, where his grave is quaintly marked with an inscription in German.

The main immigration came in 1710. An account says that while the Indian chiefs were viewing London they saw the unenviable condition of the homeless Germans and one of them "unsolicited and voluntarily presented the Queen a tract of his land at Schoharie, New York, for the use of the distressed Germans." The Indians "pitied the wretched condition of the people and offered to open to the perishing mass their hunting grounds beyond the sea." So goes the narrative told by Conrad Weiser and other Palatine leaders when they made their famous remonstrance to London in 1720. This is the basis of the Indian invitation, and while some historians are inclined to doubt it, the continual mention of it in Palatine records seems to indicate a foundation in fact.

Robert Hunter, appointed Governor of New York on the death of Lovelace, proposed that three thousand of the Palatines be sent over with him to be employed in the production of naval stores, on which the Royal Navy was always in need. The Lords of Trade recommended to the Queen that a place be made for them on "a tract lying on the Mohaques river, fifty miles by four and a Tract lying upon a Creek (Schoharie) which runs into said River between twenty-four and thirty miles in length, of which your Majesty has possession. This last mentioned land is claimed by the Mohaques, but that claim may be satisfied on easy terms." The board recommended that each Palatine family be given forty acres of land after paying charges owed the government for maintenance, with a present of five pounds in cash on leaving England. They were to be restrained from manufacture of woolen goods. They were to produce "Turpentine and Tarr out of which Rozin and Pitch are made." For this purpose pine trees were to be used and all trees twenty-four inches in diameter and upward were to be saved as masts and planks for the Royal Navy.

The board forbade settlers in the Province from "burning the trees to clear the land." One of the specifications of the 1708 Palatine immigration to the Hudson was that they should aid in the production of naval stores and be "useful as a frontier against the French and Indians." These instructions were renewed to Governor Hunter. He entered upon the project with high optimism.

John Conrad Weiser, Sr., whose accounts have furnished many details of the event, says the Palatines embarked from England "about Christmas Day, 1709." There were three thousand passengers in ten ships. They spent more than five months crossing the ocean, delayed by headwinds and storms. The crowding, bad food and unhealthy conditions caused the death of 470 of the voyagers. One of the ships, "Herbert," was wrecked at the east end of Long Island, as Whittier related in his poem of the Palatines, but nearly all escaped. Governor Hunter arrived at New York June 14, 1710, in the ship "Lyon." Three Palatine vessels had not yet been sighted, but came in later. The passengers were put ashore on Nutten (Governors) Island, where they remained for five months until their destination was decided.

The Surveyor-General of the Province was sent to locate the "land on the Mohaques river, particularly the Skohare, to which (said the official report) the Indians have no pretence." By "pretence" was evidently meant that the Indians would be willing to sell. The lands, controlled by the Mohawks, were occupied by the Schoharie Tribe, called Karighondontes by Judge William Brown in his pamphlet history of the Schoharie settlement. It was a local unit to which had drifted remnants of Mahikan, Delaware and other conquered tribes, about three hundred in all. Karighondonte, a French Indian, had married a Mohawk squaw and Brown said had been sent to the Schoharie Valley by his father-in-law to prevent his being slain by the French-hating braves. The Karighondontes had two villages, one on the west bank of the Schoharie opposite Little Schoharie River (Middleburg), another on the flats to the south near Onistagrawa Mountain. The Surveyor-General reported the Schoharie was not a desirable location for the tar experiment, as there is "good land, but no pine." The latter obviously was untrue since pine woods were found in the entire region. The remoteness of the site, however, being forty miles west of Albany in an unbroken wilderness, was probably the deciding factor.

Hunter then arranged with Robert Livingston, Lord of Livingston Manor, for the purchase by the Queen of six thousand acres of

the manor "next to the pines" for the refugees. He paid 266 English pounds for it, equal to 440 pounds New York currency. He also contracted with Livingston to furnish subsistence to the settlers for four pence a day. The tract lay in the southern part of the manor, with frontage on the Hudson River, so that export of tar and turpentine would be facilitated. The area today is identified by Germantown and vicinity. On the west side of the Hudson, Hunter secured another tract of six hundred acres, a mile long, near Sawyer's Creek, Saugerties. The land was purchased in October, and soon the Palatines arrived. Each family was allotted a piece of "arrable" land and Governor Hunter reported: "They have already built themselves comfortable huts and are now employed in clearing the ground. In the Spring, I shall set them at work preparing the trees." On the east side four villages were formed, Hunterstown, Queensbury, Annsbury and Haysbury; on the west side, three more, Elizabeth Town, Georgetown and New Village. None of these names remains. The settlements became known by the general names of East Camp and West Camp, the east side coming to be known as Germantown. Kaatsbaan, near Saugerties, also received some of the settlers.

The manor of Livingston then extended sixteen miles along the Hudson and twenty-four miles back to the Massachusetts line, as patented by Governor Dongan. Hunter gave Livingston a new patent in 1714, conferring manorial court powers. About three hundred Palatines remained in New York City. Eighty-five of the children were taken from their parents on arrival and apprenticed to various tradesmen. Among them was John Peter Zenger, apprenticed to Bradford, the printer, whose attack on the provincial court led to the upholding of the freedom of the press. In East Camp, in October, 1710, there were 2,227 Palatines. When spring came they set to work getting trees ready for tapping for turpentine as ordered, but one of the commissioners named by Hunter to supervise the settlers reported in March that they were still thinking about Schoharie. "The tract intended for them is in their mind as a land of Canaan," he wrote. While most of the Palatines felt the manor settlement was well enough for the present, one of the leaders said: "We came to America to establish our families and to secure lands for our children on which they may be able to support themselves after we die. This we cannot do here."

Work at the camps was delayed while 105 Palatine volunteers under John Conrad Weiser, Sr., were enlisted with the Provincial troops for an attack on Canada under Nicholson in 1711. They

were unpaid for this service, the Provincial officers evidently feeling they owed it to the Queen for the large expenditure she had been under in sending the ten shiploads to America. Soon after discontent with life in the camps became so alarming that Governor Hunter called out militia, read their contract to them and forced them at gunpoint to resume work.

The account of this period, given in the 1720 petition, asserts the Palatines would "rather lose their lives than remain where they are." They had been cheated by that contract, they asserted, which was not the same as that read to them in England. "The true contract they were willing to perform, but to be forced by another contract to remain on these lands all their lives and work for her Majesty for the ships' use that they will never do." So went their story. Nevertheless, they worked avidly during the summer, preparing as many as fifteen thousand trees a day for turpentine extraction. The children gathered pine knots to be burned for the manufacture of tar. A court of seven members was appointed to hear their grievances. For a time things seemed to be going well. But the effort to get turpentine and tar was almost total failure, due partly to the inexperience of the instructor Hunter had sent to the camp, but chiefly to the attempt to get turpentine from the wrong kind of pine trees. While the southern pine is suitable for this process, northern pine is not. About three hundred barrels of tar were obtained, compared with the thirty thousand barrels Hunter had expected to get yearly.

The collapse of the project had unfortunate results. Unable to get his vouchers approved at home, Governor Hunter had drawn on his personal fortune to the extent of twenty thousand pounds. His enemies in London seized on the failure to castigate the whole scheme as badly advised and costly to the Crown. Hunter's chief foe was the Earl of Gloucester, former Lord Cornbury, who had formed a dislike for Livingston while Governor of New York. Cornbury attacked the feasibility of the project as well as Livingston's subsistence charges. Between November, 1710, and September, 1712, Livingston's bill for bread (four and one-half pence daily) and a quart of beer daily amounted to twenty-six thousand pounds. The battling at home made Hunter's position hopeless. He had advanced his own funds to buy the lands as well as pay the subsistence. He was now in extremity. He would have gone to a debtor's prison except for the immunity his office carried.

In the emergency, there was nothing further he could do for the Palatines. In September, 1712, he notified the "list men"—the group

leaders—that the Palatines might take employment on neighboring farms, but they must return to the manor "on call." He still had hopes for tar-making. But the Palatines, wearied with food rationing, heavy toil and constraint, felt differently. They took the Governor's statement as an order to "shift for themselves." A delegation was sent to scout the Schoharie country thirty-five miles southwest of Albany and seek permission from the Indians to settle. As they later described this turn of events:

> "With winter just at hand, there being no provision to be had and the people bare of clothes, which occasions terrible consternation among them, ... some of their chiefs (chief men) were suddenly dispatched away to the Indians (of Schoharie) by whom they were kindly received, and to whom they opened their miserable condition; and that being wholly cast off by the said Governor and left destitute of the means of living elsewhere, they intreated them to give 'em permission to settle on the tract of land called Schohare which they immediately granted, saying they had formally given the said land to Queen Anne for them to possess and that nobody else should hinder them of it."

The excerpt is from the petition of "grievances" which the elder Weiser took to London in 1720. Doubt has been cast on some of the Palatine contentions, especially that the Schoharie Indians could have known anything about what happened in London when Schuyler took the chiefs to the Queen. It is possible Weiser and the other list men consulted the Mohawks at Iconderoga, their lower castle at Fort Hunter, at the Schoharie's mouth, though there is nothing to bear this out.

Simms has given a word picture of the first view of the lovely mountain-enclosed Schoharie Valley obtained by the Palatine scouts. "An Indian piloted the delegation of Palatines from the camps over the Helleberg from Albany," Simms wrote, "to find the promised land. It must have been in a mellow September sunlight when the messengers gained from a commanding eminence a view which took in the estuary of Foxes Creek and the Schoharie, from whence their eyes rested upon the most delightful scene they had ever beheld. The Schoharie flats were spread out before them like a neglected garden, while opposite the mouth of Foxes Creek their view was obstructed by a romantic mountain."

Hastening back to Livingston Manor (ninety miles by the route they took) the delegates reported a friendly welcome ahead. The

migration promptly began. Thirty families moved to Dutchess County, settling on Beekman's land and naming their village Rhinebeck or Rhinebeek. Some went to the West Camp vicinity. About three hundred remained at the manor. The first band of twelve families entered the Schoharie Valley in the fall of 1712, it appears now established. The quaint account of the pioneer trek over the Helderbergs to the Fox Creek Valley, where they caught the breathless panorama of their new home site, is given in Judge Brown's notable account, written in 1816, which has been reprinted by the Schoharie County Historical Society. After breaking up their homes at East and West Camp, Judge Brown stated, the Palatines went up to Albany. He wrote:

> "The city or rather village was called the Foyck, but by the Indians was called Schogneghtady, the most of the whole being Indian traders and altogether of the Low Dutch. From thence, being provided by order of Queen Anne with provisions and tools on their backs, started and traveled by an Indian footpath four days before they reached Schoharie.
>
> "Here it will be well to relate that on the third day there was a meeting and their whole camp fell a fighting on a hill called Feghtberg until this day; where now is a village in the town of Bern called Pucker-street. On the fourth day they were in sight of Schoharie, concluded now to have a general wash—found a brook and water—then fell to work and as they were a washing the lice were a swimming down the brook; whence that brook is called Licekill until this very day."

John M. Brown, brought up at West Camp, moved to the Schoharie Valley in 1757. His sketch of the first settlement contains many details not found elsewhere. In 1795 he was appointed judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Schoharie County. He says that in the first week after arrival of the Palatines in the valley there were three children born—Johannes Earhart, Wilhelmus Bouck and Elizabeth Lawyer. The land had been partly cleared by the Indians and the settlers planted corn.

Brown's account indicates that first group blazed a trail over the Helderbergs to the Schoharie, while Governor Hunter, writing home in October, 1712, stated that "some hundreds" of the Palatines had gone to Schoharie and "have been busy cutting a road from Schenectady to that place." The 1720 relation of grievances states that after

being dismissed by Governor Hunter they set out for Schoharie "and in two weeks time cleared a way through the woods fifteen miles long with the utmost toil and labor; which being effected, fifty families were immediately sent to Schoharie. When being arrived and almost settled, they there received orders from the Governor not to go upon the land, and he who did should be declared a rebel."

The inference in more recent years has been that perhaps two bands followed different routes in reaching the Schoharie Valley, one going over the Helderbergs, the other via Schenectady. Trails were opened between both places and Schoharie, apparently from the beginning. Others believe the pioneer band traversed Catskill Creek to the Schoharie basin, where an Indian trail ran. Judge Brown says definitely, however, that the route over the Helderbergs to Fox Creek "was the road which the first settlers travelled when they moved up into Schoharie from Albany."

During the first winter, hardship must have been extreme, and accounts survive of the people eating herbs and roots found for them by the Indians, who seem indeed to have extended a welcome.

The Governor's message recalling the settlers "sounded like thunder" in their ears, says the 1720 narrative. He had agreed to let them go, they felt, and they hoped to be allowed to occupy their hard-won new home. The next few years were occupied with their efforts to retain a foothold on the valley. The Governor's recall message undoubtedly was inspired by resentment over their hasty departure from the Hudson to the land they had so long sought to obtain. He was, however, unable to provide another home for them, and there they stayed until the final adjustments were made.

"In the same year in March (1713)," says the 1720 account, "did the remainder of the people (though treated by the Governor as Pharaoh did the Israelites) proceed on their journey and by God's assistance traveled in a fortnight with sledges through the snow which covered the ground above three feet deep, cold and hunger and joined their friends and countrymen in the promised land of Schorie."

Many of the incidents of the early settlement are exceptional. Judge Brown relates that "in the fall of 1713 Lambert Steenbergh carried a spint of wheat along the Indian foot path from Schenectady to Schoharie; there sowed or rather planted it, over more than an acre of ground, which grew well, and the next year he reaped and threshed it and measured 83 skippel out of it. This was the first wheat ever raised in Schoharie and by about forty years after, it was reckoned that one year in another, they carried 36,000 skipple to Albany." A skipple contained three pecks.

Judge Brown further records that having gained a foothold in the valley, the people "began to feel themselves well off." They soon had plenty to eat, wore moccasins, buckskin breeches and leather jackets, which they obtained from the Indians. One of their most novel devices was an oak stump, burned hollow by the Indians to serve for stamping their corn. The stump was beside a stone heap at the junction of the Little Schoharie Creek, now at the site of Middleburg. On the stump was cut an Indian seal of a turtle and snake, mark of the Karighondontes. This was the first "gristmill" in the valley. Brown also notes that the first horse, a gray, was owned by nine of the settlers!

As their crops came in, the necessity arose of getting to market. Brown said they made their own block sleighs for use at home and wooden shod sleighs to go to Albany, making a trip there and back in five days. The wagons for summer use were "made of blocks sawed off of a thick water beach tree which we now call button wood."

There were Indian paths from Schoharie to the Catskill headwaters, and down to the Hudson, later becoming the Loonenburg Turnpike; a trail from Schoharie through present Duanesburg; one along Schoharie Creek to Fort Hunter; one southward to the Susquehanna Valley; and the eastward trail to Albany. Brown says that on the latter route "with very little variation went the first Schoharie road to Albany" but "did not learn that any wagon went through that way before the year 1750 or thereabouts, when farmers began, six, eight or ten together and make one trip to Albany with a wagon in order to get their rum, pepper, and tea for harvest. They had no other road until the year 1762," he continued, "when a new road was opened from Foxendorff through Duanesburgh, intersecting the old Schenectady Road at the half-way house at Truax's."

The seven villages or "dorfs" were located along the Schoharie for eight or ten miles. Most southerly was Weiser's Dorf, named for the leader of the camps, John Conrad Weiser, Sr., at the site of modern Middleburg. Northerly were Hartman's Dorf, Brunnen Dorf or "Fountain Town," named from springs near-by, now Schoharie village; Fox's Dorf and Garloch's Dorf north of the junction of Fox Creek and the Schoharie; and Kneiskern's Dorf, on the west bank, at the junction of the Schoharie and Cobleskill.

Taking wheat to the gristmill at Schenectady, Judge Brown says, was first done without horses, but every man carried a skipple of wheat on his back the nineteen-mile distance. "Sometimes there would go 20 in a drove," he wrote, "often men and women together. This they

had to do for three or four years until a gristmill was built by one William Fox."

The valley, lying out of the path of Iroquois warfare, was undisturbed by savages, though the Mohawk lower castle was only a few miles away. After 1700 the Mohawk middle castle was on a hill at Fort Plain called Tarajorees; and the main upper castle of Canajoharie was at Indian Castle east of present Little Falls.

In 1718, a census of the Palatines, not including widows and orphans, showed 680 residing in the seven Schoharie townships; 359 at Livingston Manor; 140 at Rhinebeck; 272 at West Camp and



Fort Klock, 1750, Near Palatine Church

Kingston, and 150 at New York; a total of 1,601. Actually, the total number was at least 3,000.

Palatine affairs took a new turn in 1720 when John Conrad Weiser, Sr., and two other delegates were sent to England to seek award of land titles and clear up other grievances. Efforts of the Palatines to get titles for the lands they occupied had not proved successful. Having incurred Governor Hunter's displeasure by their exodus from the Hudson, they encountered many obstacles. One of the early grants in the Schoharie Valley was that Colonel Nicholas Bayard received from Governor Fletcher. The width of this grant was never known, but it ran the length of the Schoharie River—about fifty miles. Fletcher's grants were notorious and this one was invalidated in 1698. Nothing daunted, Bayard's son, Samuel, tried to get the Palatines to buy titles from him, and then "sold" his interests to seven partners of Albany and New York City. On November 3,

1714, Governor Hunter granted a patent to Myndert Schuyler, Peter Van Brugh, Robert Livingston, Jr., John Schuyler and Henry Wileman. Lewis Morris, Jr., and Andries Coeymans were added to the group soon after, the patent embracing ten thousand acres along the Schoharie.

Another early deed was obtained from eighteen Indians in 1711 by Adam Vrooman, Schenectady pioneer, to lands at the upper end of the Schoharie Valley near Mount Onistagrawa. He obtained a patent for additional acreage, August 26, 1714, in the same vicinity, on which the signatures of Mohawk chiefs were accompanied by clan totems.

The Vrooman tract and that of the seven partners covered the entire Palatine settlement. It has been presumed that Governor Hunter issued the patents in disappointment over the failure of the tar-making experiment and with the Palatine adventure generally. He had been impoverished and embittered by the experience. The new proprietors endeavored to require titles of the Palatines and encountered fierce resistance. Sheriff Adams was sent from Albany, in 1715, to demand that the settlers take leases. He was met by an enraged band of women led by Magdalene Zeh, who pummeled him severely, carried him "skimmington" on a rail and deposited him in a mud hole beside the road to Albany. The sheriff was doubtless thankful to escape with one eye lost and some broken ribs. Later a party of Palatines going to Albany for sale, were arrested and jailed, among them Conrad Weiser, Jr., later an Indian interpreter. They were released on agreeing to take title from the seven partners, and other Palatines bought titles at this time. Governor Hunter recorded that only nominal charges were made for these lands.

While these events were going on, the elder Weiser, as emissary to London, was having his troubles. Going over, his ship was seized by pirates, who stole the funds the Palatines had given him. Reaching London, he found Governor Hunter had reached there first to tell the story. He was jailed for debt and had to await funds from America for his release. In the end, the "grievances" he had so carefully drawn up, failed to get a hearing, and he returned disheartened, determined to seek a homeland elsewhere. Soon after he led a group of the Palatines to Pennsylvania, where they joined others who were to become known in history as "Pennsylvania Dutch."

Hunter's conduct in patenting lands under the noses of the Palatines was not without its aftermath. There came a time when the Governor managed to get his claims for Palatine expenses before

the Crown officials. To validate them he was required to get certifications from the Palatines covering their subsistence at East Camp. The Palatines declined to oblige him. The certifications being refused, the bills were disallowed. Hunter was recalled and William Burnet named Governor instead. It was a cruel blow to Hunter. He had been out of pocket for a large share of the entire Palatine adventure. The course taken by the Crown in repudiating the debt was a gross injustice.

Secretary Clarke, of New York Province, commenting on the refusal of the Palatines to sign the vouchers, wrote that the settlers "had purchased land in Pennsylvania and are determined to go thither. Thus the Brigadier (Hunter) is baulked and this province deprived of a good frontier or a hardy and laborious people."

As it turned out, however, the frontier did not lose them all. The elder Weiser, in 1722, took a band of sixty families, mostly from Weiser's Dorf and Hartman's Dorf, down the Susquehanna to settle near Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania, the frontier of that State. Governor Keith, learning of the troubles of the Palatines, had invited them to emigrate. Some Palatines had arrived at Philadelphia in 1717, and thereafter for fifty years, with one exception, immigrants from the Rhine landed at that port.

About three hundred Palatines remained in the Schoharie Valley, and about four hundred moved to the Mohawk River to locate on the hills about Stone Arabia and west of the Noses, near Fonda. Dutch from the eastern settlements soon moved into the rich Schoharie Valley to take the places of those who had gone. The fertility of that soil always has been famous.

Burnet, instructed to adjust the Palatine situation, sought to locate them on the Mohawk River "in the middle of our Indians," but they preferred separate tracts, where they could form their own villages. In November, 1722, the Governor notified the Board of Trade that he had obtained land from the Mohawks "at a very easy purchase" and had given sixty families leave to buy lands "between the present English settlements near Fort Hunter to a creek called (West) Canada Creek, where they will be more immediately a barrier against the sudden incursions of the French, who made this their road when they last attacked and burned the frontier town called Schonectady."

In 1723 the Governor arranged the purchase of twelve thousand seven hundred acres from the Mohawks, the Stone Arabia Patent. This he granted to twenty-seven Palatine families, numbering 127 in all, to be divided into equal parts. The largest gift to the Palatines

by the Crown was on April 30, 1725, when the Governor granted the Burnetsfield Patent of ninety-two thousand acres extending along both sides of the Mohawk twenty-four miles west from Little Falls. The land was to be held in "free and common soccage" as on the manor of East Greenwich, in Kent, England, the only payment being an annual quit rent to the King for each one hundred acres of two shillings six-pence. Each man, woman and child was to receive one hundred acres. The patent was issued to John Joost Petri (Petry) and other "distressed Palatines" in accordance with his royal instructions.

Thus those who remained to settle on the Mohawk received an even greater reward than the forty acres apiece promised when the pioneers sailed from England. Among those to take Mohawk abodes was Elias Garloch, from the Schoharie. Between 1723 and 1725 settlements were made in the region which now includes Stone Arabia, St. Johnsville, Fort Plain, German Flats (Herkimer), Palatine Bridge, Mohawk, Ilion, and Frankfort. The first settler in the latter was Melchor Folts, in 1723. Canajoharie was settled by Hendrick Schremling, a Palatine, and Martin Jansen Van Alstyne, Dutch descendant, who arrived there before 1730.

With the settlement at Frankfort, civilization had advanced eighty-five miles west of the Hudson. German Flats was soon the familiar name of the lowlands west of Little Falls. In 1722 settlement was begun nearly opposite Little Falls by Johan Joost Herkimer, a huge, bear-like man, whose abilities as a trader and fighter became famed in the valley. His son, Nicholas, led the Tryon County Militia in the epochal battle of Oriskany with much heroism.

In 1716, Captain Harmanus Van Slyck, of Schenectady, grandson of Cornelis Antonisse Van Slyck, received a patent for a tract seven miles along the north shore between Big Nose and Nelliston.

The third large immigration occurred in 1722 when a shipload of Palatines reached New York. Four members of the group bore the name Ergemar (spelled in a score of ways) which has contributed so much to Mohawk Valley tradition.

In 1725, the Rev. Johannes Ehle (also spelled Oel) at Nelliston built a log house, where he lived while serving as a missionary to the Mohawk and Schoharie settlements and the Indians of the nearby Tarajorees castle. The house was rebuilt of stone in 1729.

The first church in Schoharie County is considered to have been the High Dutch Reformed Church, established about 1724 at Fox's Dorf, northeast of the present Stone Fort at Schoharie. The church subsequently became a Low Dutch congregation. The Stone Fort

was built in 1772 and saw battle action. Another early church was at Middleburg.

An early minister to the Palatines was the Rev. John F. Hagar, who appears in the records of the settlement at Livingston Manor. In 1715 he petitioned the Governor for permission to build a church in Kingsbury. This edifice probably was not built, since in 1721, Governor Burnet authorized Robert Livingston to make collections for building a church on his manor and to call a Protestant Reformed minister from Holland. This became the Reformed Church of Germantown. In the Mohawk Valley, the first log church at Stone Arabia was built in 1729 on the site of the present Lutheran Church, the first Reformed Church dating from about 1733. The two churches were destroyed in the Revolution, the present churches dating from 1792 and 1788, respectively. The noted Palatine Lutheran Church, Montgomery County, was built in 1770. The Fort Herkimer Reformed Church, a log structure in 1723, was rebuilt and the stone edifice of 1767 still stands opposite Herkimer, one of the valley landmarks. The only surviving Indian mission of Colonial days is the Indian Castle Church of 1769, built by Sir William Johnson.

The sudden extension of the frontier up the Mohawk Valley had signal effects. The Palatines have been described as ever careless of the personal safety. Certainly they did not hesitate to go into the heart of the Mohawk country, where they placed themselves directly in the line of attack from the French and Indian raiders who had pillaged the valley so often before, striking from Lake Ontario or the north. Few forts were built to defend them. One of these was Fort Hunter, erected in 1711 as a protection for the lower castle of Mohawks. The Indian chapel built there boasted an organ. A parsonage was built, which still stands.

It is told that the braves who had expressed such interest in the chapel before it was built became quite irregular in attendance after its erection. Chided for this neglect, at a council at Albany in 1714, a Mohawk chief replied:

> "Brother Corlear: You put us in mind that we desired a Missioner in every one of our castles to instruct us in the way of eternal life. We own that we desired it, but when we consider that the Christians here—when it is Sabbath days—what fine cloathes they have when they go to church and that goods are still so dear that we cannot purchase Sunday cloathes, but would be necessitated to go to church with an old bear skin

and deer skin. We have deferred that matter until goods are cheaper so that we may have cloathes suitable to go to church withal."

The building of Fort Hunter had quite the reverse effect of what the Mohawks expected. Instead of receiving only protection from French incursions, they found they had opened the doors to white settlement. The rush of Palatines to the upper portion of the river valley soon provided a larger white than Indian population. Nelson Greene, historian of the Mohawk Valley, has estimated that in the ninety-mile distance between the Hudson and Dutch Hill, west of Frankfort, by 1725 there was a white population of two thousand five hundred settlers and an Indian population of one thousand. As the Palatines pushed up the valley, other settlers filled in from below. There now extended a thin line of settlement through the once forbidden ground of the Mohawks, fiercest nation on the continent.

The Mohawks were still there, lurking in their three villages at Fort Hunter, Fort Plain and Indian Castle. But they were not so numerous as they once were. They were glad to have the whites come among them to help hurl back those savage French attackers. So the Mohawks sold the larger part of their lands. This was the turning of the tide. The white settlers would not retreat from that point; but the red men finally would. The Palatines, as the new barrier against British foes, were to face sharp and painful shocks for their temerity.

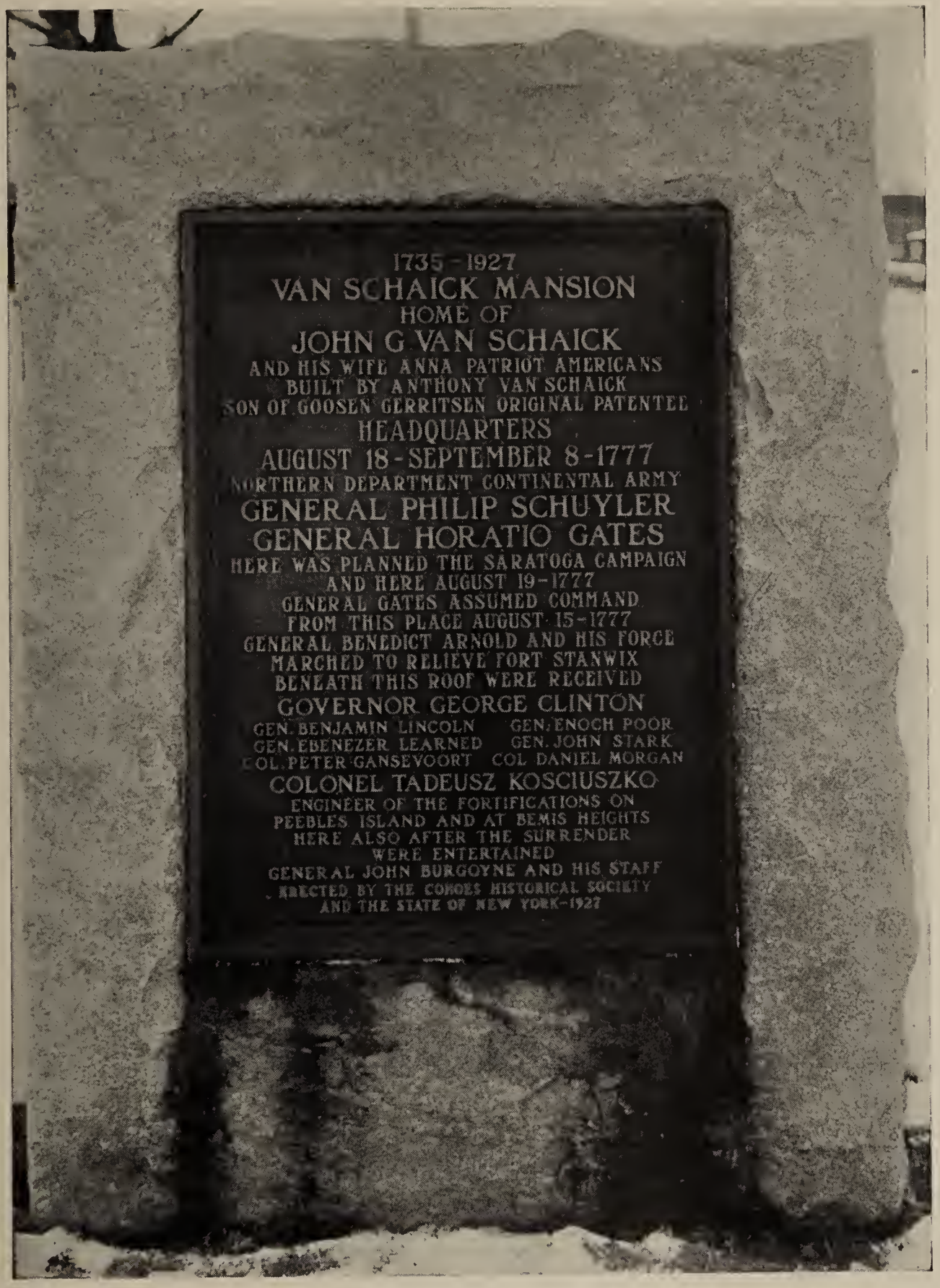
CHAPTER XIII

Sir William Johnson: the Albany Plan of Union

The Origin of Federal Union at Albany—Steps Preceding It—Cherry Valley Settled 1739 by John Lindsay—Rev. John Dunlop Brings Scotch-Irish Pioneers There—William Johnson Takes Charge of His Uncle's Mohawk Valley Estate—Prospers as Trader—Builds Fort Johnson—His Wives—Adopted by the Mohawks as Brother Warraghiyagey—Leads Savages in War Paint to Albany—Becomes Indian Commissioner—French Harass the Frontier—Beukendaal Massacre, 1748—Halifax Calls Albany Congress, 1753—Congress Meets, June, 1754—Six Nations Make New Treaty—Franklin Reports the Famous Plan of Union—First Definite Plan to Organize the Colonies—New Forts at Albany and Schenectady—Early Churches—Schenectady Fur Trade—Johannes Knickerbacker.

The growth of the idea of federal union was the great theme of the Colonial period. It was an idea born of neglect by the Mother Country, of great sacrifices undergone by the frontier settlements and of something else—the air of liberty and independent action which was inherent in this virgin country. That the bold, unchained savages, who constantly proclaimed they were slaves of no man or king, likewise in some degree affected the trend of Colonial thought is scarcely to be denied.

The assembling at Albany in 1754 of the first Continental Congress in America—the most representative body gathered together up to that time—was a milestone in national growth. It marked the first definite consideration of Colonial union by a group of people's delegates and, while the plan drafted by Benjamin Franklin failed to win ratification of either Parliament or the provincial assemblies, it set going a realization that the troubles which assailed the scattered colonies could be dealt with effectively only through concerted action. It will ever remain one of the significant notes of history that the



Plaque Erected at Van Schaick's Island Country Club, Cohoes

British home government encouraged the suggestion of provincial union as a means of lightening the burden of defense which fell upon the Crown. Thus Britain herself played a part in the initial idea. The first step, once taken, led to the second, that if the colonies were to manage their own affairs they would also become their own rulers. But it took a war, with great suffering, to establish the principle, and bring the Nation into being.

Importance of the development of Colonial union to the Capital Region lies not alone in the fact that the Congress of 1754 was conducted in the Albany Stadt Huys. It was the hard experiences on this frontier in the French-Indian wars and the lack of coöperation from less dangerously situated colonies that forced the British government to call the Congress in session. In those wars, which stretched over a period of seventy-six years, with military action in thirty of them, the forest echoed with savagery, settlers were slain in the fields, their homes burned, families separated by slaughter and kidnaping.

For such reasons the Capital Region was an important proving ground for the principle of American unity, long before the exciting days of the Revolution itself. There were, in all, four Colonial wars: King William's from 1689 to 1697; Queen Anne's from 1702-13; King George's from 1744 to 1748, and the last and greatest, French and Indian, 1754-63. With its strategic Mohawk and Hudson Valley routes, the Capital Region was the key of defense, and with the Massachusetts frontier bore the brunt of attack. In the later stages the French sought to extend a row of forts down the western side of the Appalachians and hem the British away from the Great Lakes, but the decisive fighting was carried on by the armies which swept out of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys to conquer Canada.

This frontier extended from Fort Massachusetts near North Adams to Albany, Schenectady, Fort Hunter, the upper Mohawk and on to Oswego on Lake Ontario, and Niagara on Lake Erie. Against this line the French directed their barbs.

In the most vital part of this period there arose the romantic figure of William Johnson, a youth of twenty-three when he came to the Mohawk Valley in 1738 to manage the landholdings of his uncle, Captain Peter Warren of the Royal Navy, then living at New York City. The captain was raised to the rank of admiral after many exploits, which included the capture of the fortress of Louisburg. Young Johnson quickly rose to a position of frontier leadership famed for his influence over the Six Nations, whose loyalty he managed to retain for the Crown. A prominent figure at the Albany Congress, he

was made a baronet for valor at Lake George the following year, when he turned back the French-Indian force under Dieskau. It was he who put on the mantle in guidance of Indian affairs once worn by Peter Schuyler, whose death in 1724 left a void of serious import. Sir William moved the Six Nations treaty house from Albany to Fort Johnson, in the Mohawk Valley, about 1750, where except for a brief interlude it remained until the Revolution broke the Iroqouis power.

The period immediately following the settlement of the Palatines in the Hudson, Schoharie and upper Mohawk valleys was marked by an acceleration of the fur trade under the influence of Governor William Burnet. There also occurred a considerable expansion of settlement, with numerous land patents issued confirming titles, or permitting acquisitions from the native tribesmen. On many of these virgin plats settlers ventured, founding the nuclei of modern towns, villages and cities.

One of the boldest of these ventures was the settlement made at Cherry Valley, fifty miles west of Albany, in a total wilderness. On August 18, 1738, John Lindsay (sometimes spelled Lindesay), took a patent for 1,965 acres of land, which was soon consolidated with one for 7,050 acres issued on the same day to Jacob Roseboom, Leonard Gansevoort and Sybrant Van Schaick of Albany. On May 24, 1739, Lindsay took a patent for five hundred acres on Cherry Valley Creek, one of the sources of the Susquehanna River. These holdings made up the original area of the Cherry Valley settlement. Lindsay removed there with his family, calling the place "Lindsay's Bush," later renamed Cherry Valley in honor of the wild cherry trees which were there in abundance.

Lindsay, a "Scotch gentleman of substance" figured in a number of Colonial enterprises. He was sheriff of Albany County from 1732 to 1739. In 1736 he obtained a patent with Philip Livingston for three thousand acres in the town of Danube, bordering the Mohawk. In 1738 he also patented 460 acres in Greene County, and planned a settlement in the Catskill vicinity, but for some reason moved his family to Cherry Valley instead, buying out the three other partners in this patent. Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, a party to the purchase, retained his portion, which descended to his heirs. To this wilderness, remote even from Indian settlements, Lindsay took his family in 1739. Without previous experience in this type of pioneering, it is said they nearly perished during the first winter.

Commenting on their precarious situation, Simms wrote:

> "A family from refined life, isolating itself in the woods among Indians and wild beasts, could reasonably have expected to find only a life of very severe romance, and such proved that of the Lindsay family the first season; for in the winter following its arrival, not having made ample provision for its wants, it became straitened for food; and there being a great depth of snow on the ground, its necessities were only to be relieved by the kindness of an Indian, who upon snow-shoes went to the Mohawk River settlements and returned with a supply of necessaries upon his back. Thus were the whites often befriended into successful homes and colonies by the natives."

In the spring of 1741 Mr. Lindsay invited the Rev. Samuel Dunlop, of New York, to join the settlement, offering him a gift of a good farm to settle upon if he would bring others to settle with him. Responding to this inducement, the Rev. Mr. Dunlop arrived with about thirty others, of Scotch-Irish extraction, among them David Ramsey, William Gallt, James Campbell and William Dickson. Mr. Dunlop returned to Ireland, where he married and brought his bride back to the new land. Well educated, Mr. Dunlop established the first English-speaking church and the first classical school west of Albany.

Lindsay himself removed from the settlement after a few years, entering upon a military career. He was a lieutenant at Schenectady in 1746-47, later made commandant and Indian commissary at Oswego, where he died in 1751. The others remained and the settlement at the time of the Revolution had about three hundred inhabitants. It was obliterated in the massacre of 1778 and rebuilt afterward; became a noted turnpike center. Settlements were begun prior to the Revolution in the same locality at Middlefield, Springfield, Harpersfield, Little Lakes, Otsego Lake, and Unadilla. In 1738, Sir George Clarke, the Governor, who had an interest in the Corry patent in the Mohawk Valley, built a stone house at present Fort Plain, which he occupied with his family as a summer home until 1742. This, too, was in a sparsely settled locality. The cellar of the Clarke house is a part of the Fayant house which stands today.

The picturesque William Johnson arrived in the Mohawk Valley in 1738. He was born at Smithtown, County Meath, Ireland, in 1715, younger son of Christopher Johnson. He was sent to America,

it is said, to break up a home town romance. His uncle's estate consisted of fourteen thousand acres in the town of Florida, on the south side of the Mohawk opposite Amsterdam, which became known as Warrensbush.

Young William set up a trading station or store and soon achieved rapid success in dealing in furs. He brought in sixteen Scotch-Irish families as settlers. The Indians found him friendly and his charm expansive. In 1739 he took to wife Katherine Weisenberg, described as a German "bound" girl, paying five pounds for her. Her mentor, a settler named Philips, had paid for her passage overseas. As Simms relates it, Johnson made the bargain in dynamic fashion. "Said Philips: 'Johnson, that d—d Irishman, came the other day and offered me five pounds for her, threatening to horsewhip me and steal her if I would not sell her. I thought five pounds better than a flogging and took it and he's got the gal.' "

Katherine became the mother of Sir John Johnson, the Tory leader, and of two daughters. Anna married Colonel Daniel Claus and Mary married Colonel Guy Johnson. Katherine died in 1742. Johnson's next wife was Caroline Peters, niece of King Hendrick, Mohawk chief. She died in 1747. Johnson's third wife was Catherine (Molly) Brant, sister of the noted chief Joseph Brant, of the upper castle of Mohawks. It was she who presided over Johnson Hall as brown-skinned Lady Johnson.

Branching out for himself, Johnson bought lands on the north side of the Mohawk, building a stone house which he called Mt. Johnson, in 1742. This was afterward occupied by Anna and her husband, Colonel Claus. In 1749 Johnson built the stone dwelling known as Fort Johnson, on the western limits of present Amsterdam, which still stands.

He soon built a mill, but before that time sent wheat to Fonda (Caughnawaga) to be ground, indicating that Douw Fonda may have settled at the latter place earlier than 1750. While Johnson at first thought to build his trade with the Susquehanna hunting region, where the Indians had a village known as Oquago, he soon found that his location on the main route between Oswego and Albany was more valuable. Traders going to Oswego often bought supplies from him and he acquired furs from them, which he shipped directly to New York and London. As a merchant, he gained wealth so rapidly that the actual conduct of this business he turned over to others.

His rise to Colonial prominence began in King George's War, when his influence over the savages came to public attention, and led to his appointment as Indian agent.

The keynote of the new conflict with France had been struck in 1701 when the French built a fort at Detroit, a far stake in the western country to which the English traders naturally looked for expansion. A treaty was promptly arranged at Albany, at which the Iroquois Nations placed under protection of the British Crown their entire Ohio lands, which they had won by conquest from the western tribes. The treaty, as the record shows, was solemnized in the middle of the State Street hill below the Albany fort, in the presence of Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan and other dignitaries, including the "Mayor Aldermen and Commonalty of Albany." The scene doubtless was dramatic as the peace pipe was passed around and the deed signed by the tawny sachems. The territory thus added to the British domain was six hundred miles long by some four hundred miles wide.

In 1704, Lord Cornbury, then Governor, directed the rebuilding of the Albany hillside fort of 1676, personally selecting the location of one of the stone bastions. The stone work was not completed for a number of years. The fort had twenty-three guns, pointing toward the forest and over the city in all directions. Colonel Wolfgang Romer, the Crown engineer, also had charge of rebuilding the fort at Schenectady in 1708. This was erected at the east angle of the stockade, and at the beginning of the French-Indian War in 1754 had two large guns, a six- and a nine-pounder, besides six smaller guns.

Revealing the condition of the outposts at that time, Cornbury wrote to the Lords of Trade that he "could with ease push down" the rotted palisades at the Albany stockade. "Schenectady is twenty miles from Albany upon another river by which the French must come if they attempt anything on Albany," wrote Cornbury. "This is an open village. It was formerly stockadoed round but since the peace no care having been taken to repair the stockadoes they are all down. There is a stockadoed fort . . . . eight guns in it, not above three fit for service, no garrison in it when I came, but a Sergeant and twelve men, no powder nor shot, neither great nor small nor no place to put it into. The half moon is a place fourteen miles above Albany upon Hudsons River. There was formerly a stockadoed fort (there) made in Colonel Fletcher's time. Nustigione (Niskauyna) is another place fourteen miles from Albany in the woods where there was a pretty large stockadoed fort. But these two last for want of looking after are quite gone to ruine by which Albany is left naked upon those two sides."

In 1707 the city of Albany exercised its right under the charter to buy five hundred acres of land at Schaghticoke, where a defensive out-

post was afterward erected. The lands extended two miles along Schaghticoke Creek, going into the woods twelve or fourteen miles. Part of the payment included 2 blankets, 12 pounds of powder, 20 shirts, 2 guns, 36 pounds of lead, 8 gallons of rum, 2 casks of beer, 2 rolls of tobacco, 12 duffel cloth coats and a number of pipes. The Indians were to receive annually for ten years 1 banket, 1 pair of stockings, 1 apron, 1 keg of rum, 3 pounds of powder, 6 pounds of lead and 12 pounds of tobacco. The Indians were to have twelve acres fenced and set aside for their own use. Among the settlers on the property was Johannes Knickerbacker, a miller, who obtained a



Fort Herkimer Church, 1767

lease in October, 1709, to thirty morgens of land for sixteen pounds and ten shillings.

Arrival of twelve western Indians to trade at Albany was reported by Lord Cornbury in 1708. He said they were Twightwees and came eight hundred miles with their furs. "I have been these five years endeavoring to get these nations to trade with our people," he wrote, "but the French have always dissuaded them from coming till this year. They have promised to return in the spring with a much greater number of their nations."

Governor Burnet, after locating the Palatines in the upper part of the Mohawk Valley in 1725, turned his attention actively to the Indian trade. The French, in 1726, built a fort at Niagara, replacing the earlier one there, and claimed authority over the Senecas.

Burnet built a fort at Oswego, where there had been a trading station since 1722.

Fort Hunter, which had been built in 1711, was the protector of the lower valley and Schoharie district. It was 150 feet square with piled logs twelve feet high. In the center was Queen Anne Chapel, a limestone structure twenty-four feet square with a belfry. Queen Anne gave a Bible and communion plate for the Indian mission there. The chapel was palisaded again during the Revolution. It was removed during the Erie Canal construction, but the original parsonage, also of limestone, remains on the glebe property.

The failure of the 1709 and 1711 expeditions from Albany against Canada had encouraged resumption of neutral fur trade between Albany and Montreal, carried on by the Caughnawagas, or "Praying Indians," formerly of the Mohawk Valley. The trade which enabled the French to obtain English goods to sell to their trapping Indians was profitable and continued for a number of years in spite of protests of Colonial governors. The effect of the trade, however, was to weaken the Iroquois alliance since the Iroquois were competitors of the French Indians for furs.

Governor Burnet, however, succeeded in bringing eighty "far Indians" to Albany to trade in 1723, at which time he notified the Lords of Trade that the Tuscaroras had been admitted to the Iroquois Confederacy as the sixth nation. The "far Indians," he said, had come with their women and children "above a thousand miles to Albany from Mislimakenak (Mackinack) which lyes between Lac Superieur and Lac Huron."

"I have intelligence of forty or fifty more far Indians who are coming to Albany to trade," he wrote, "and this I find the fruits of the act restraining the trade to Canada and of the company whom I have kept in the Sinnikes country whose business it is to persuade all the Indians that pass by to come rather to trade at Albany than at Montreal."

Because of the experience the far Indians had with the cheapness of goods in this Province, the Governor felt "we need not fear the trade will be universally in our favor." He reported that while between 1716 and 1720 but thirty canoes of Indians came to Schenectady en route to Albany, from 1720 to 1727 "are come 323 which is above ten times that number." Thus the rivalry went on, and stretched into the vast western country, where French and British aims clashed.

Schenectady came in for a larger share of the fur trade after 1727 when the old-time Albany monopoly, conferred by the Dongan charter, was broken. The charter provisions had been jealously guarded and Schenectady had been restrained in the beginning from the "handling trade," as it was called. The Schenectady merchants, however, had managed to conduct a clandestine commerce. Tradition has it that the furs obtained by them were brought down to the Sandberg, three miles west of Albany, by night, and also in canoes to Niskayuna and the Boght, a bend in the Mohawk where the present Albany-Saratoga Highway crosses, to be sold to equally surreptitious Albanians. In 1727, Johannes Myndertse, of Schenectady, was accused of taking Indians into his home to obtain contraband furs. He was arrested by the Albany County sheriff, fined ten pounds, and ordered jailed until the fine was paid. He obtained a writ of *habeas corpus,* brought an action for false imprisonment and was sustained by the Supreme Court, who assessed costs and damages amounting to thirty-eight pounds against the defendants, six Albany aldermen. Thereafter, Schenectady traders went unmolested. This brought a stimulation of boat building. Traders setting out for Oswego and the west would buy supplies there and a thriving commerce ensued. The boats at that time were batteaux, flat-bottomed with sharp prows. They were poled along the river, the polemen often having to get out and tow the boats by ropes through the rifts or reefs in the Mohawk, this being before the age of locks and slack water navigation.

Queen Anne's War, ending in 1713, was followed by a thirty years' peace, in effect an armed truce. In the Treaty of Utrecht, France recognized the Iroquois as subjects of Britain for the first time, and agreed not to molest them. The spirit of this document was broken in 1731, when the French came down to Crown Point, one hundred miles north of Albany, and built Fort St. Frederick. This was intended to be a citadel for a new French state extending from the Connecticut to the Great Lakes.

Warfare resumed between Britain and France in 1744, due to European entanglements. Perceiving the dangerous threat of the Crown Point establishment, the Colonists made plans to take it. At this point attention began to turn toward William Johnson, the Mohawk Valley trader. By that time Johnson, through his alliance with Molly Brant, was exercising a persuasive influence over the Mohawks, who in turn had the most commanding voice in the Six Nations.

Johnson, moreover, had found a friend in Governor George Clinton, who replaced Governor Clarke in 1743. He was introduced to Clinton by Chief Justice James DeLancey, his uncle, and the two got along famously. The Mohawks adopted Johnson into the tribe with the name "Warraghiyagey," signifying "Big Business." Clinton appointed him a justice of the peace in 1745 and acting Indian agent.

Provincial affairs were at an *impasse* at that time. The settlement at Saratoga had been raided, thirty killed and sixty taken captive. Skulking parties of Indians and Frenchmen began striking all around the frontier from the Crown Point base.

With a powerful enemy so close, there was imminent danger to all the English colonies. Governor Clinton called a Colonial conference at Albany, which was attended by officers from New York, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Other colonies were appealed to for aid, but took the position, as they often did, that being out of the danger zone eliminated them from responsibility. Efforts were made to arouse the Six Nations to join an expedition against Canada, but the savages, impressed by the French successes, refused.

Johnson, made a colonel of Indians and militia, was now placed at the head of the Board of Indian Commissioners. He revealed his skill at Indian management in 1746, when he was asked by the Governor to bring the Mohawks to Albany for another conference. As William Dunlap described it in his "History of New York":

> "When the Indians came near the town of Albany on the 8th of August, Mr. Johnson put himself at the head of the Mohawks dressed and painted as an Indian war-captain. The Indians followed him painted for war. As they passed the fort, they saluted by a running fire, which the governor answered by cannon. The chiefs were afterwards received in the fort-hall and treated to wine. A good deal of private maneuvering with the individual sachems was found necessary to make them declare for war with France before a public council was held."

Thus Johnson succeeded where others had failed. A little scornful, however, were the sachems. "When you Christians are at war," said one, "you make peace with one another. But it is not so with us. Therefore we depend upon you to take care of us, in confidence of which we now take up the hatchet and will make use of it against the French and their Indians."

The boldness of the enemy was apparent. In May, 1746, three miles from Schenectady, Simon Groot and two brothers were killed. Eighteen miles west of Albany, on the Normanskill, fourteen men all armed were going with a wagon to bring in corn from a deserted farm to a house where several families had gone for refuge. They were met by a party of Indians. All the Colonists were killed but two, who escaped to Albany, one wounded in the shoulder. At Schodack, eight miles south of Albany, six men were killed. The alarms became so serious that farms were abandoned within four miles of Albany.

Appeals to other colonies finally brought detachments of soldiers from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, who were quartered in Albany's eight blockhouses, some being sent to outlying points. Sixteen were killed outside the fort at Saratoga, which was then abandoned, leaving no defense base between Crown Point and Albany. A record of 1747 states:

> "The inhabitants of Albany are in great misery and distress by reason of the present war with France and with the Indians in their alliance. The inhabitants of said city ever since the commencement of the war by their frequent watching have been very much taken off with themselves and families; that every man of our corporation has been obliged to attend in person or pay a hired man in their stead upon Watch & ward every third or fourth night during the whole time excepting a small interval of time . . . . (We) are indebted . . . . for the supply of fire wood and candles for the night watches & for powder and ball for the poorest of the inhabitants; besides what the inhabitants have done by a voluntary taxing themselves for providing & setting up new stockadoe where the old ones have gone to decay."

Reports from Schenectady and the Mohawk, Catskill and Kinderhook region undoubtedly would have echoed similar anxiety.

In 1748, three miles from Schenectady, fell the Beukendaal (Beechdale) massacre, now marked by a bronze tablet. Daniel Toll had gone with a servant to bring in some horses when Indians killed him. The servant gave the alarm and a posse of sixty went out from the village. Indians had attached a crow by a string to Mr. Toll's body. As the posse approached, they walked into an ambuscade. Twenty were slain, thirteen wounded. The survivors took refuge in the DeGraff house near-by and, firing from upper windows, drove the raiders off. Among the slain were: Jacob Glen, cousin of Colo-

nel Glen; Peter Vrooman, Adam Conde, Nicholas DeGraff, Adrian Van Slyck, J. P. Van Antwerp, Frans Van Der Bogart, Daniel Van Antwerp, and John A. Bradt. Johnson's scouting parties took to the trail and brought in numerous French Indian scalps. The war ended that year.

Peter Kalm, Swedish naturalist, who made a journey collecting seeds and plants for the University of Upsala, Sweden, coming to Albany from Montreal in 1748, shortly after the peace, left an interesting record. Passing Cohoes Falls on the way, he reported it "one of the greatest in North America," estimating its height to be "20 or 24 yards." He noted the pot-holes in the rocks, little water flowing over at the time, which he said were similar to formations in Swedish streams called "mountain kettles." At a pool below the falls were several fishermen.

He noted a large number of cherry trees, and the extensive crops of flax, hemp, wheat, peas and other grains.

> "All the yachts which ply between Albany and New York belong to Albany [he wrote] . . . . They bring from Albany boards or planks and all sorts of timber, flour, pease and furs which they get from the Indians or which are smuggled from the French. They come home almost empty, and only bring a few merchandizes with them, among which rum is the chief.
>
> "The yachts are pretty large and have a good cabin, in which the passengers can be very commodiously lodged. They are commonly built of red cedar or of white oak. . . . . They sow wheat in the neighborhood of Albany with great advantage. From one bushel they get twelve sometimes: if the soil be good they get twenty bushels. The wheat-flour from Albany is reckoned the best in all North America, except that from Sopus or Kingston, a place between Albany and New York. All the bread in Albany is made of wheat. At New York they pay the Albany flour with several shillings more per hundred weight than that from other places.
>
> "They are unacquainted with stoves, and their chimneys are so wide that one could drive (through) them with a cart and horses. The water of several wells in this town was very cool about this time, but had a kind of acid taste which was not very agreeable. . . . . I think this water is not very wholesome for people who are not used to it, though the inhabitants of Albany who drink it every day, say that they do

not feel the least inconvenience from it. . . . . Almost every house in Albany has its well, the water of which is applied to common use; but for tea, brewing, and washing, they commonly take the water of the river. . . . .

"The houses in this town are very neat, and partly built with stones covered with shingles of the White Pine. Some are slated with tiles from Holland, because the clay of this neighborhood is not reckoned fit for tiles. Most of the houses are built in the old way, with the gable-end towards the street; a few excepted, which were lately built in the manner now used. A great number of houses were built like those of New Brunswick (New Jersey), which I have described; the gable-end being built towards the streets of brick and all the other walls of planks. . . . . The gutters on the roofs reach almost to the middle of the street. This preserves the walls from being damaged by the rain; but is extremely disagreeable in rainy weather for the people in the streets, there being hardly any means of avoiding the water from the gutters.

"The street-doors are generally in the middle of the houses; and on both sides are seats, on which, during fair weather, the people spend almost the whole day, especially on those which are in the shadow of the houses. In the evening these seats are covered with people of both sexes; but this is rather troublesome, as those who pass by are obliged to greet every body, unless they will shock the politeness of the inhabitants of this town. The streets are broad, and some of them paved; in some parts they are lined with trees: the long streets are almost parallel to the river, and the others intersect them at right angles. The street which goes between the two churches is five times broader than the others, and serves as a market-place. The streets upon the whole are very dirty, because the people leave their cattle in them during the summer nights. There are two market-places in the town, to which the country people resort twice a week.

"The fort lies higher than any other building, on a high steep hill on the west side of the town. It is a great building of stone, surrounded with high and thick walls. Its situation is very bad, as it can only serve to keep off plundering parties, without being able to sustain a seige. There are numerous high hills to the west of the fort, which command it, and from whence one may see all that is done within it. There is com-

monly an officer and a number of soldiers quartered in it. They say the fort contains a spring of water.

"The situation of Albany is very advantageous in regard to trade. The river Hudson, which flows close by it, is from twelve to twenty feet deep. There is not yet any quay made for the better landing of the yachts, because the people feared it would suffer greatly or be entirely carried away in spring by the ice, which then comes down the river. The vessels which are in use here, may come pretty near the shore in order to be laden, and heavy goods are brought to them upon canoes tied together. . . . .

"The greater part of the merchants at Albany have extensive estates in the country and a great deal of wood. If their estates have a little brook, they do not fail to erect a saw-mill upon it for sawing boards and planks, with which commodity many yachts go during the whole summer to New York, having scarce any other lading than boards.

"The inhabitants of Albany and its environs are almost all Dutchmen. They speak Dutch, have Dutch preachers, and divine service is performed in that language; their manners are likewise Dutch; their dress is, however, like that of the English.

"The inhabitants of Albany are much more sparing than the English. The meat which is served up is often insufficient to satisfy the stomach, and the bowl does not circulate so freely as amongst the English. The women are perfectly well acquainted with economy; they rise early, go to sleep very late, and are almost over nice and cleanly in regard to the floor, which is frequently scoured several times in the week. The servants in the town are chiefly negroes. Some of the inhabitants wear their own hair, but it is very short, without a bag or queue. . . . .

"There is not a place in all the British colonies, the Hudson's Bay settlement excepted where such quantities of furs and skins are bought of the Indians as at Albany. Most of the merchants in this town send a clerk or agent to Oswego, an English trading town upon Lake Ontario, to which the Indians resort with their furs. The merchants from Albany spend the whole summer at Oswego, and trade with many tribes of Indians who come to them with their goods. . . . . The Indians often find, when they become sober again, that they

have been cheated; they grumble somewhat but are soon satisfied when they reflect they have for once drank as much as they are able to of liquor which they value beyond anything else in the whole world."

There were two churches, the English Church being on the hill at the west end of the market, directly under the fort, and the Dutch Réformed Church lower down on the hill nearer the river, having a small steeple and bell.

The building of the English Church (St. Peter's) was a big event in 1715 in the city. Much argument arose as to its location, which the organizers desired to place in the middle of the hill street then called Yonker (State Street), approximately opposite the present Chapel Street corner. The Dutch Church was at Broadway and State Street, in the middle of the street. Efforts were made to enjoin the Anglicans from erecting their church so close to the fort, but Governor Hunter refused to interfere with the erection of the edifice. Communicants were mostly the English officers and members of the fort garrison. The church, completed in 1716, was of stone, fifty-eight feet long, forty-two feet wide. First services were conducted in November by the Rev. Thomas Barclay, who also preached at Schenectady and Fort Hunter.

In 1715, the Dutch Reformed congregation finding their edifice of 1656 in need of replacement, began construction of a new building of stone. The work was carried on while continuing services in the old structure, the same site being used, the new walls being erected outside the old. Except for two weeks, there was no interruption in the church activities during this unusual construction. The Rev. Petrus Van Driessen was the minister. In 1720, when Colonel Peter Schuyler was president of the Provincial Council, the society was incorporated in the name of the "Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in the city of Albany." The building, with a four-sided roof running to a central peak, stood until 1808. The congregation's present edifice on North Pearl Street was erected in 1797, Philip Hooker, architect.

The Episcopalians before 1716 had met in the Lutheran Church in South Pearl Street, erected about 1669 in the pastorate of the Rev. John Fabritius. The Presbyterian congregation, fourth oldest in Albany, first met about 1760 in the King's "forage house" by permission of the Governor, later building their own edifice.

In Schenectady the Reformed Church edifice of 1734 was the third to be erected by the Dutch congregation. The first church was built about 1682, although services had been conducted earlier; the second in 1703, both at Church, Water and State streets. The second church was of stone, afterward used as a fort. The third building had a gambrel roof, tower, bell and clock and was at Church and Union streets. There were 304 seats, of which eighty-six were for men and 218 for women. It stood until 1814. This edifice was dedicated with sermons by the minister, Rev. Reinhardus Erichzon, and Domine Van Driessen, of Albany. In 1740 the church owned about twelve square miles of lands, since sold.



General Herkimer at the Battle of Oriskany

St. George's Episcopal Church, begun about 1759 and completed in 1762, is considered the oldest standing in the Mohawk Valley. Sir William Johnson had a canopied pew there and assisted in getting the church's charter and in obtaining missionaries. The Rev. Mr. Barclay, earliest missionary preacher there, wrote in 1710 that he preached at Schenectady "once a month, where there is a garrison of forty soldiers, besides about sixteen English and about 100 Dutch families."

The pioneer churches of the Palatines have been mentioned previously. The Fort Herkimer Reformed Church was begun about 1730. The first church at Middleburg is dated from 1732, a new brick edifice being built in 1737.

On the lower manor of Rensselaerwyck, at Claverack, a church was erected in 1726. The pastor from 1756 to 1770 was the Rev. Johannes Casparus Fryenmoet. Hendrick Van Rensselaer, on receiving the lower manor, consisting of about one hundred and seventy thousand acres in Columbia County, and the Greenbush farm of about one thousand acres in the upper manor, established a manor house (at the east end of the present Claverack village) in 1712. The house is believed to date from 1685. Hendrick went there to collect rents and conduct court, but resided most of the time at Fort Crailo, East Greenbush, believed to have been initially erected in 1642. The Claverack church had twenty-six pews, six for men and twenty for women, the sexes sitting apart as was the custom in those days.

At old Catskill, which had been settled by Dutch pioneers, a church was built in 1733. Land was given by Marte Gerritsen Van Bergen, funds were contributed by Captain Silvester Salisbury. These men were large patentees in the vicinity. Van Bergen was a nephew of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer and had held numerous positions in Rensselaerwyck. Salisbury, Englishman, had been commander of the Albany fort. The Rev. George Michael Weiss was the pastor. The congregation included seventeen families.

The effect of the border warfare of King George's War was reflected in a census report showing Albany County's population in 1737 to be 10,687 and, in 1749, the year after the war ended, 10,634. The lack of growth speaks mutely of the sacrifices of the settlers as well as the desertion of the frontier because of danger.

While actual warfare did not resume until 1754, the French were continuously active. They circulated rumors among the Iroquois that the English were preparing to wipe them out, thereby hoping to stir the savages against their old friends.

In 1750 Colonel Johnson was made a member of the Provincial Council. In spite of this recognition, the Assembly would not pay his bills for supplying the outpost at Oswego and he resigned indignantly as Indian Commissioner. The Iroquois were restive since the peace of 1748 had done nothing to dislodge the French from Crown Point. In 1751, at a treaty in Albany, Governor Clinton made peace with the Six Nations on behalf of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and South Carolina. The Catawba Indians were present and agreed not to war with the Iroquois. The same year the Onondagas permitted the French to erect a Jesuit Mission on Onondaga Lake. In spite of his financial rebuff from the Assembly, Colonel Johnson bought Onon-

daga Lake and two miles around the shore line from the savages to prevent the French outposts locating there. The property remained in his possession until his death, the estate afterward being confiscated by the patriot government.

In 1753 Governor Clinton resigned, was succeeded by Sir Danvers Osborne, who hanged himself the day after taking office. Lieutenant-Governor DeLancey became the Acting Governor.

In 1753 the French began an active drive to control the Ohio country, sending an army to take possession and build forts. These were erected at Presqu' Isle (Erie, Pennsylvania) and Duquesne (Pittsburgh). Washington, defeated at Fort Necessity, withdrew into Pennsylvania. The English Crown had ceded six hundred thousand acres to the Ohio Company, in which were two of Washington's brothers.

At a conference at Mt. Johnson, in July, 1753, the Six Nations told Warraghiyagey:

> "It is not with our consent that the French have committed any hostilities in the Ohio; we don't know what you Christians, English and French together, intend. We are so hemmed in by both that we have hardly a hunting place left. In a little while if we find a bear in a tree there will immediately appear an owner of the land to challenge the property and hinder us from killing it, which is our livelihood. We are so perplexed between both that we hardly know what to say or think."

The absence of Colonel Johnson from official position at this time did not help to allay the savage fears. They were anxious to be on the winning side. The French seemed to be doing the winning; the English cause, indeed, appeared to be disintegrating.

At this juncture the home government suddenly became alarmed at the trend of events and decided on drastic steps. The problem of frontier defense had been let go too long. The Iroquois were slipping from their control; perhaps the French would even break through with a devastating thrust upon Albany and seize the key Province.

Dunk Halifax, from London, requested Lieutenant-Governor DeLancey to arrange a huge meeting with the Six Nations, at which the ancient covenant chain would be brightened anew. He notified all the Governors in the Colonies to have their assemblies send delegates. So unusual was the occasion that the King would contribute a substantial sum for presents to the savages. The Colonies were expected to add to this gifts of their own.

His circular letter went out September 18, 1753, from Whitehall. The Governors, with the approval of the councils and assemblies, were asked to select as delegates "men of character, ability and integrity and well acquainted with Indian affairs." The choice of place of the meeting as well as the time were left to Lieutenant-Governor DeLancey. The latter replied on December twenty-fourth that he had designated Albany as the place for the Colonial Congress to be assembled on June 14, 1754.

Out of this invitation came the history-making session from which evolved the Plan of Union. Explaining the choice of the meeting place, DeLancey said Albany was "the most proper and the usual place of holding General Conferences with the Indians, and where they have had a Fire burning from the earliest settlement of the country." Likewise fitting was the choice, since Albany was "a place of the greatest consequence to the defence of these Counties, being situated on the highest part of Hudsons River which is navigable for vessels of any considerable Burthen and thro' which all the intercourse between Schenectady, a Town sixteen miles distance to the Westward and the Western Settlements, is carried on with New York."

It appeared, however, that the Congress was not to be limited to a renewal of friendship with the Iroquois. Accepting the invitations, the Colonial Assemblies revealed what was then coming to be the outstanding thought—that there should be a united front in the Colonies, and to achieve it a definite form of union was most essential. That these echoes reached England was evident in a letter of the Lords of Trade to DeLancey at the time the conference was getting under way.

"It seems to be the opinion and is the language of almost every Colony," said this communication, "that a general Union of strength and interest is become absolutely necessary." That the idea was not frowned upon was revealed when Halifax laid the Plan of Union before the King. Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was an outspoken advocate of a Colonial union, though not one, as might be presumed, in which there would be much room for independent action.

Seven colonies in all sent delegates—New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut and New Hampshire. Virginia and the Carolinas desired to be considered present. Some of the commissioners came authorized specifically to take up measures for uniting the provinces. The Massachusetts delegates were ready "to enter into Articles of Union and Confederation for the General Defense of His Majesty's subjects and interests in

North America as well in time of Peace as in war." Connecticut directed its commissioners "to consult proper measures for the General Defense" and Rhode Island "to act in conjunction" with the others "in every thing necessary for the good of his Majesty's subjects in these parts." These were extraordinary instructions to issue to Colonial emissaries.

There were twenty-five delegates in all as follows:

New York—Lieutenant-Governor DeLancey, presiding; Joseph Murray, William Johnson, John Chambers, William Smith.

New Hampshire—Theodore Atkinson, Richard Wibbird, Meshec Weare, Henry Sherburne, Jr.

Massachusetts Bay—Samuel Welles, John Chandler, Oliver Partridge, John Worthington, Thomas Hutchinson.

Connecticut—William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, Elisha Williams.

Rhode Island—Stephen Hopkins, Martin Howard, Jr.

Maryland—Benjamin Tasker, Abraham Barnes.

Pennsylvania—John Penn, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, Benjamin Franklin.

Learning of the size and importance of the conference Albany was aflutter with excitement. Housewives had scrubbed their houses till they shone. Streets were cleaned. The garrison and defenses put in their best condition. Arrangements were made to house the visiting Indian orators and warriors in the military hospital on Lodge Street. Their accompanying wives and children were encamped on neighboring meadows and in barns.

The delegates to the Congress were housed presumably with leading citizens of the city. There were a number of social functions during the convention. The Rev. Mr. Peters, from Pennsylvania, preached in St. Peter's Church, the sermon being printed by order of the Congress.

For Franklin and Hopkins, of Rhode Island, the event was to have special significance. They were later to be Signers of the Declaration of Independence. Franklin as well as the Massachusetts members had come prepared with a Plan of Union which he had been mulling over on his journey by land and boat from Philadelphia.

The commissioners assembled, June 19, 1754, in the three-story brick courthouse and city hall at the corner of Broadway and Hudson Avenue. The keeping of minutes was assigned to Peter Wraxall, secretary of the Indian Board at Albany. Interpreters, upon whom so much depended, were Lawrence Cleas, Jan Baptist Van Eps and Mrs. Montour.

The first business of the Congress was the peace negotiation with the savages. The Mohawks, last to come down to the conference, explained this was due to charges made by the other tribes that they were "looked upon as Colonel Johnson's councillors." They denied this, saying Johnson did not always confide in them, and had they arrived first for the Congress, the other nations would have said "we made the Governor's speech."

Canadaraga, speaker for the lower castle of Mohawks, greeted DeLancey as "a new Governor," requesting that "you will treat us tenderly and not as the former Governor did, who turned his back upon us before we knew he intended to depart so that we had no opportunity to finish our business with him."

Land troubles were one of the chief grievances. "We understand," said the orator, "that there are writings for all our lands, so that we shall have none left but the very spot we live upon and hardly that. . . . . We find we are very poor. We thought we had yet land around us, but it is said there are writings for it all. It is one of the conditions of the ancient covenant chain that if there be any uneasiness on either side, that they shall be considered with a brotherly regard."

Asked to be specific, the Indians stated their current objection was to the Kayaderosseras Patent, for seven hundred thousand acres, which had been granted in 1708, extending from Half Moon on the Hudson to East Canada Creek. The patent was subsequently modified.

The major speech of the treaty-making was delivered by King Hendrick, chief of the upper castle of Mohawks, who demanded the reinstatement of Colonel Johnson as Indian Commissioner. In one of his asides he told the Congressional delegates: "We are looked upon to be a proud nation. 'Tis true that we, the Mohawks, are the head of all the other nations; here they are and they must own it."

Upon receiving the chain belt of peace on behalf of all the governments represented, Hendrick said:

> "We return to you all our grateful acknowledgment for renewing and brightening the covenant chain. This chain belt is of very great importance to our united Nations and all our allies. We will therefore take it to Onondaga, where our council fire always burns and keep it so securely that neither Thunder nor Lightning shall break it."

Turning to proposals from the delegates that the Indians move their castles closer together to afford each other greater protection from the French, Hendrick drew upon masterly invective, excoriating the British for their long neglect of the frontier defense and failure to push the French from Crown Point. Denying the Iroquois had given the French any permission to locate forts on the Ohio, he said: "The Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Canada are both quarreling about land which belongs to us, and such a quarrel as this may end in our destruction." Then reaching the climax of his speech, he continued:

> "'Tis your fault, Bretheren, that we are not strengthened by conquest, for we would have gone and taken Crown Point, but you hindered us; we had concluded to go and take it, but we were told it was too late, and that the Ice would not bear us; instead of this, you burnt your own Forts at Seraghtoge and run away from it, which was a shame and a scandal to you. Look about your Country and see, you have no Fortifications about you, no, not even to this City, 'Tis but one Step from Canada hither and the French may easily come and turn you out of your doors.
>
> "The goods which go from hence to Oswego go from thence to Ohio which further enables the French to carry on their designs at Ohio. You were desirous that we should open our minds, and our hearts to you; look at the French, they are fortifying everywhere—but, we are ashamed to say it, you are all like women, bare and open without any fortifications."

There was a general airing of other complaints, including one from the traders at Oswego, who said that in passing down the Mohawk Valley their batteaux were boarded by savages from the Canajoharie and Mohawk castles. "By force they take what rum they think proper, hooping (*sic*) and yelping as if they gloried in their depredations and threatening to murder any that oppose them." At the carrying place they were charged exorbitant prices to move the boats, the savages forcing away "the High Germans who generally attend with their horses." The Indians agreed to allow peaceable passage through the valley.

Special addresses were made by the Schaghticoke and River Indians. The Schaghticokes said they were "young and inexperienced, our ancient people being almost all dead," but they hope to "do as our fathers have done before us" in clinging to the English.

The River Indians said their lands had now been sold and "hunting is grown scarce." They hoped for additional payments for their lands.

The pipe being smoked and the peace conference over, the departing chiefs were advised not to divide the powder given to them until they reached Schenectady, nor to open the rum until they had gone "above the settlements." The Governor then "covered up the fire" of the council. It was the last time this was done on any important occasion. Colonel Johnson was again installed as Indian Commissioner and the great conferences of the next twenty years were conducted at his estates. The savages took away from the Albany Con-



Bleecker House, 1786, Fort Plain

gress thirty wagon loads of gifts, the largest present they had ever received.

Before the Indian treaty had been closed, the delegates had already turned to another matter. On June twenty-first, a committee had been appointed "to prepare and receive Plans or Schemes for the Union of the Colonies." Appointed were: Thomas Hutchinson, Theodore Atkinson, William Pitkin, Stephen Hopkins, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Tasker.

On June eighth a declaration was drawn up citing the incursions of the French on the English Colonies and the western territory, and asserting Crown rights to that land through the Plymouth sea-to-sea charter. The declaration concluded:

> "The colonies being in a divided, disunited state, there has never been any joint exertion of their force or councells to repel or defeat the measures of the French and particular colonies are unable and unwilling to maintain the cause of the whole."

It was thereupon resolved:

> "That there be a Union of his Majesty's several Governments on the Continent, so their Councils, Treasure and Strength may be employed in due proportion against the common Enemy."

Mr. Franklin was assigned to prepare the draft of the Plan of Union, which was debated July ninth and, on July tenth, placed in the form in which it was approved by the Congress and sent to the other Colonies and the King for ratification. Voting to erect a fort in the Senecas country as urged by Colonel Johnson, the Congress, as the record says, "rose without any further adjournment."

The great session was over. In the little fortified city on the shore of the Hudson a great milestone had been passed. A Plan of Union had been ratified by a group of publicly chosen delegates. It was to go down in defeat before both the Assemblies and the Crown, but its impact was never to be forgotten. It was a recognition, at last, that the Colonies, if they intended to protect themselves, would have to sink their differences and join hands.

The plan was quite simple, and is similar to the form of Provincial government that Canada finally received. It bore the title: "Plan of a Proposed Union of the Several Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, for their mutual defence and security and for extending the British Settlements in North America." The form of government was to include a President-General appointed by the Crown, having veto power; and a Grand Council to be chosen by representatives of the people of the colonies or by their Assemblies. The Colonial government was to be authorized by the British Parliament. There were to be forty-eight representatives in the Council: Virginia and Massachusetts having seven each; New York, North and South Carolina, four each; Connecticut, five; Pennsylvania, six; New Jerseys, three; New Hampshire, two; Maryland, four; Rhode Island, two: eleven colonies in all.

Philadelphia was to be the capital. Powers of the President-General and Grand Council were to include raising and paying soldiers and equipping vessels for defense; making war and peace; levying general taxes; establishing a treasury. The Speaker of the Council was to succeed the President-General in event of death until his successor was named. All civil officers were to be nominated by the Council and appointments made by the President-General. New members of the Council were to be elected every three years. Pay allowance was ten shillings a day for service, including journeys to and from the capital.

There seems little doubt that had the Plan then been accepted, the separation from the Mother Country might have been hastened. Once a central government had been formed, the strong tendency then manifest for action independent of the Crown logically would have had a forum in which to gather headway. Instead, it was rejected, and the Colonial Assemblies floundered through a maze of conflicting aims and events, until the hour for action finally arrived. Though the Assemblies thought it did not go far enough in, the Crown thought it took too much from the royal prerogative. The climax was twenty years in the making, before the debates at Albany had their effect in the founding of the Nation.

Bancroft said there had never been so notable an assemblage in America. The significance of the idea the Congress had expressed was clearly exhibited by Governor Shirley when he wrote to Secretary Robinson: "As such Council can be consider'd no otherwise than as the General Representative body of all the people of the colonies comprized in the Union," the powers conferred upon it "would be a great strain upon the prerogative of the crown and contrary to the English Constitution."

Wrote Dunk Halifax, in presenting his own plan of union to King George, the essence of which was the appointment of a single Commander-in-Chief in America, with power to draw upon the colonies for funds:

> "The necessity of this Union and the security and advantages which will arise to the colonies are so apparent that we hope no difficulty will occur on their part. If, however, it should be found upon trial that this measure should be defeated by . . . . any of the colonies refusing to raise such supplies, we see no other method that can be taken but that of application for an interposition of the Authority of Parliament."

Everyone knows how little the colonies could be coerced by royal command. The Albany Plan was to succeed, but in another and a more difficult way. President Garfield once said:

> "The first germ of the American Union was planted by Benjamin Franklin, while to Philadelphia remains the honor of the seat of the first Continental Congress."

It is Albany's misfortune that the ancient Stadt Huys burned many years ago. Were it standing it would be one of the Nation's particular shrines. Lacking that structure, the State Education Department, History and Archives Division, has erected a marker on the site of the ancient building which declares Albany to be the "Birthplace of American Union."

CHAPTER XIV

The Pre-Revolutionary Era

The Final War With France—Raids at Hoosick and Kinderhook—Johnson Knighted for Victory at Lake George, 1755—British Name Loudoun Commander-in-Chief in America, Send Regular Troops for Drive on Canada—Royal Americans (King's Royal Rifle Corps) Formed at Albany—German Flats Massacres, 1757-58; French Spy's Account of Mohawk Valley—Yankee Doodle Written at Fort Crailo—Abercrombie Defeated at Ticonderoga, 1758—Amherst Sweeps Up Mohawk Valley With Vast Army to Conquer Montreal, 1760—Spread of Settlement—Sir William Johnson Founds Johnstown—Aids Formation of Tryon County, 1772; Builds Courthouse and Jail—Dies 1774 at Indian Council—Exchange of Indian Children at Albany.

A great adventure was now coming to hand for the Colonies. The frontier wars which had hovered over the heads of the settlers so long were moving toward an exciting close. The brief period of peace which followed the close of King George's War in 1748, when a French victory appeared all but won, was reflected in a prompt upturn in population. The Albany County census of 1749, which showed 10,634 inhabitants, in 1756 revealed 17,425. Occupying as it did a huge area, Albany County led New York County, which had 13,010. The whole Province of New York, in 1756, boasted 96,765 souls.

The new Anglo-French war now breaking was the last, the greatest and the most fateful for British interests in America. It proved to be a dear-bought victory. Even before the Albany Congress adjourned, word came of Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity, July 4, 1754, while trying to protect the Ohio from French invasion. This marked the real resumption of hostilities, although war was not formally declared until 1756. The French were pushing so swiftly on the north and west that there was little time for discussion of the Plan of Union, and it was laid aside. The sharp warning by King Hendrick, however, had sunk home. The British government, which had

dallied so long, ponderously moved into action. In 1755 a four-phased campaign was drafted against the French. One expedition, under Colonel Monckton, was charged with taking Acadia. Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was to lead New York and New England militia against Niagara. General Braddock was to capture Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) with regular and Colonial troops. William Johnson, the Indian Commissioner, was to lead New York and New England militia and his wild braves against Crown Point, which had caused the colonists so much suffering. For this purpose Johnson was raised to the rank of major-general of militia and full command of the Six Nations.

As evidence that at last it was in earnest, the British government sent two regiments of regular troops to America and raised two others on this side of the water. This was the beginning of the concentration of a large number of British regulars on American soil, from which flowed so many consequences. Another significant act was the appointment of a British commander-in-chief for North America, the first appointee being the Earl of Loudoun. This was evidently in conformity with Halifax's plan submitted to the King for the designation of a Royal Army commander in America with power to call on the Colonies for funds for their own defense.

Albany, so long the departure point for militia expeditions against Canada, was made the headquarters for the King's land forces. From 1755 to the end of the war in 1760, when Canada fell, Albany became a vast army camp. One of the regiments raised at the King's command was the Royal Americans, Colonel Henri Bouquet commander. The regiment had its birth at Albany in 1755, according to British military records, and was composed of a mixture of racial stocks, all inhabiting America, the first such command to be enrolled in the British Army.

The Royal Americans played a notable part in the campaigns against Canada, and were equally conspicuous in later British history. The command under its modern name of King's Royal Rifle Corps became one of the realm's crack units. It is possible that the composing of "Yankee Doodle" at Fort Crailo, Rensselaer, in that period was linked with the formation of that regiment, as the raw recruits were astounded at the brilliance of the British uniforms, brass cannon and other accoutrements.

Also stationed at Albany and Schenectady at that period were the 42d Scotch Highlanders, the famous Black Watch, whose tartans

added a colorful note to the military display. They were always to remember this campaign. As a result of the 1758 assault on Fort Ticonderoga, where the regiment was shot to pieces by murderous fire, the Black Watch uniforms have been fitted with black-covered buttons ever since.

The home government, while making these elaborate preparations, called on the Colonies for larger appropriations than ever and these were forthcoming with less opposition than usual. Of the expeditions of 1755, Monckton's in Acadia resulted successfully, although marred by the mishandling of the deportation of the Acadians, which Longfellow so heartily condemned in his poem "Evangeline." Braddock ran into an ambush and lost his life when his red-coated men were routed by savages and Frenchmen, who fired from behind trees. Shirley's expedition did not materialize. The bright spot of the year was Major-General Johnson's success at Lake George.

Assembling his militia at Albany, he moved north along the Hudson, improving the road as he went. Reaching the carrying place near Glens Falls he erected an outpost which he named Fort Edward. From there he cut a path through the woods fourteen miles to Lake George, which, with an eye to history, he named for the reigning monarch, George II.

At the lake he cut an immense number of trees to make a camp for five thousand men and built a fort he named William Henry. His force totalled five thousand militiamen from New York and New England and 250 Iroquois. King Hendrick, aged Mohawk leader, was with him.

All this had taken so much time that the French at Crown Point under Baron Dieskau made a sortie rather than wait for Johnson to come down upon him. The French ambushed a detachment of one thousand men Johnson sent toward Fort Edward, believing that place might be attacked. In this battle King Hendrick was thrown from his horse and bayoneted. Johnson was grief stricken at the loss of his old friend, who had been his strongest ally among the Six Nations. A monument has been erected with the figures of Johnson and Hendrick standing together. Hendrick was the orator who made the famous speech at the Albany Congress, living at the upper or Canajoharie Castle of the Mohawks. He had been a familiar figure at the council fires at Fort Johnson. Slain also was Colonel Ephraim Williams, of Massachusetts, who before leaving Albany had made his will, in which he provided for the establishment of a school, which has become Williams College.

Dieskau's forces were outnumbered and fled, but the French commander, wounded several times, was captured and carried down to the military hospital at Albany, which stood near the hill fort on Lodge Street. Due both to Hendrick's loss, which was a severe blow to the Indians, and to faulty supply lines, Johnson did not follow up his advantage and take Crown Point. He had complained bitterly at the conduct of settlers of Albany and adjacent counties who drove their horses into hiding to avoid being requisitioned for military supply duty.

News of Johnson's achievement, after the Braddock tragedy, caused an outburst of enthusiasm in England, where it was hailed as a great victory. The King was so delighted he named Johnson a Baronet, and Parliament gave him five thousand pounds, besides six hundred pounds a year salary. He was further honored by being made superintendent of all the northern Indians in British America.

The days that followed, however, were far from bright. De Lery with three hundred French and four hundred Indians in March, 1756, took Fort Bull, on Wood Creek, which guarded the carrying place from the Mohawk River to Oneida Lake. He burst in the fort gates by storm, executing the entire garrison of sixty men. This left the Mohawk Valley wide open to invasion from the west. Sir William constructed three forts: Fort Herkimer at German Flats, on the south side of the Mohawk opposite present Herkimer village; Fort Hendrick, near Indian Castle, the upper village of the Mohawks, which he named in honor of the slain chief; and Fort Canajoharie, across from East Canada Creek. The valley defenses included a few other outposts, such as Fort Klock, Fort Wagner and Fort Frey, which were really fortified houses. Fort Frey was built of stone by Hendrick Frey, 2d, in 1739, on the site of the original log house built by the pioneer Hendrick, in 1689, near Palatine Bridge. It had nineteen loopholes for gunfire, and was a place of resort for surrounding farmers. Fort Wagner, near Nelliston, formed part of the residence of the Wagner family, pioneer settlers. Fort Klock, about two miles west of Palatine Church (erected 1770) was a stone farmhouse built by Johannes Klock in 1750. These outposts also did duty in the Revolution.

Fort Herkimer was built on the south side of the Mohawk opposite the present village of Herkimer, where a settlement was made by Johan Joost Herkimer, the Palatine, in 1722. Here Nicholas Herkimer, who became the famous patriot commander and hero of Oriskany, was born in 1728, in his father's log house. A stone warehouse

and store was later constructed by the elder Herkimer for his fur trading. In 1756 this became the center of the palisaded enclosure known as Fort Herkimer or Fort Kouari, where Johnson stationed a garrison of 250 men. The latter name was taken from an adjacent hill. Fort Herkimer Church was begun in 1730. Its walls were partly finished during the French-Indian War. It was completed in 1767 and is one of the two oldest frontier churches standing in the Mohawk Valley. The region was known as German Flats, the part of the settlement on the north shore opposite being enclosed by palisades and five blockhouses.

The Herkimers became prosperous traders and leading figures in the valley. In 1752 Johan Joost Herkimer obtained a patent for 2,324 acres near Fall Hill (Little Falls). In 1760 he conveyed five hundred acres to his eldest son, Nicholas, who in 1764 built a brick house, finest in the valley west of Fort Johnson. It was the house in which he died and has been preserved as a Colonial shrine.

There were scattered attacks through the outlying farm lands of the region. On August 28, 1754, while the two countries were still formally at peace, five hundred Indians fell on Hoosick, near the present Vermont line in Rensselaer County, massacring the inhabitants. Outpost forts had been erected by Colonel Myndert Schuyler at old Saratoga, Half Moon (Waterford), Schaghticoke and Kinderhook as a part of the defense of Albany. John G. Brimmer and his three sons were attacked near Petersburg in 1755. One of the boys was killed and two were captured. They were sold as slaves to the French and after five years obtained their freedom on the surrender of Quebec, when they returned to their deserted farm, to begin life anew.

At Kinderhook, in 1755, a group of men and boys hoeing corn in a field, was fired on by a small party of Indians and Frenchmen. John Gardiner seized his gun and shot two of the Indians and attacked a third, when a Frenchman coming from behind struck him down. He was scalped, but survived the terrible ordeal. There were other scattered attacks in the vicinity of Livingston Manor. A Massachusetts force of one hundred men was organized and scoured the countryside, but was unable to catch up with the raiders.

In May, 1756, war was formally declared, at which time the Earl of Loudoun was designated as British commander-in-chief in America. Major-General James Abercrombie was appointed second in command. Loudoun reached Albany July 29, 1756, with six thousand regular troops, to launch the new drive against Canada. These forces

were afterward supplemented with others from England and swelled by the American-raised commands and militia to an aggregate of twelve thousand. Before Loudoun got started, however, Marquis De Montcalm, Dieskau's successor, captured Fort Oswego, the English post on the Lakes. British General Webb, who had been proceeding up the Mohawk Valley to reinforce the outpost, halted at German Flats, dismayed by this turn of events. Later, after a conference with General Johnson, he returned to Albany. Nothing more was done that year.

Loudoun busied himself with making military roads along the Hudson and northward to the Mohawk for the easier movement of troops. One of these routes, in the village of Loudounville, Albany



Major Fonda House, Fonda, 1791

suburb, bears his name. In July, 1757, Montcalm, with ten thousand Frenchmen and two thousand Indians, took Fort William Henry. Thirty of the garrison were massacred by the savages as they marched out of the fort defenceless under the terms of the surrender.

German Flats next felt the shock of the French attack. In spite of the exposed condition of the settlement since the fall of Fort Bull and Oswego, the settlers had declined to abandon their farms which were in a prosperous condition. General Johnson had feared for the settlement, but warnings either apparently were not received in time, or ignored. The attack fell at three o'clock in the morning, November 12, 1757. Forty settlers were killed and 160 taken prisoner. Horses, cattle, farm implements, and many of the dwellings went up

in flames, destroying the fruits of labor of the previous quarter century. Some of the inhabitants managed to flee to the protection of Fort Herkimer across the river. The tragedy, fatefully enough, was repeated the following year, when thirty-three were killed. Four hours' notice of this attack had been given, however, and Captain Nicholas Herkimer, later the general, drove off the raiders, killing fifteen.

A French spy who passed down the valley at that period (1757) left an account of his observations which has been preserved in Colonial documents. It includes a description of Fort Johnson, Schenectady and other interesting glimpses of the valley in that frontier period as seen through enemy eyes. The spy entered the English country at Oswego and followed the valley down to Albany, making notes as he went. We pick up his account as he reaches Fort Kouari (Herkimer) eastward bound:

> "Fort Kouari is situate on the right side of the Mohawk river, on a small hill on the edge of that river's bank. It is a large three story stone house with port holes (*crénelée*) at each story, and likewise in the basement for the purpose of cross firing. There are some small pieces above. The house is covered with plank and shingles. It was built as a store and depot for Choueguen (Oswego). It is surrounded by a ditch at a distance of about 30 feet. This ditch is six feet deep and seven wide. The crown of the ditch inside is planted with palisades in an oblique form; they are well jointed the one to the other. Behind these there is a parapet of earth so as to be able to fire over the palisades. The four angles of this parapet which is at the back of the ditch, form as it were, four little bastions that reciprocally flank each other. On the West side there is a house apart from the large one. It backs against the parapet of the palisades and serves as a barrack and guard house. There are two doors to the large building; the one at the North is a small swing door. It is used only in going to the river for water. . . . . The large door of the house is on the South side; it is folding but not ironed. To go outside the palisades and ditch through the large door, you must leave the house to the left and turn to the Eastward where there is a passage. The ditch has not been excavated. The earth serves as a bridge and road. There are palisades to the right and left, on both sides of the

way, the whole width of the ditch. Outside the ditch there is a folding gate. There is no other barrier nor chevaux-de-frise in front. The nearest house outside the fort is about 150 paces. Opposite this fort in the river is a small cultivated island which can be reached at low water by fording.

"From Fort Kouari to that of Cannatchocary (Canajoharie) is four leagues. Some twenty houses are located at a distance one from another, within the space of one league of this road, which is through a flat country. After making this league we go up a mountain that occupies two hours to ascend and descend. The country throughout the whole of this space is covered with wood. After descending, two houses somewhat distant the one from the other are in the league which is still to be travelled to get to Cannatchocari.

"The Inhabitants of this Country are Palatines or Germans. They form a Company with some who dwell above the Fall (Little Falls) on the other side of the River which is the left bank. This company consists of about 80 men. The road from one to the other of these two forts is good for all sorts of carriages.

"Fort Cannatchocari is situated at the side of the Mohawk River on the right bank. It is a square of four bastions of upright pickets joined together with lintels. They are fifteen feet high, about one foot square with port holes inserted from distance to distance with a stage all around to fire from.

"This Fort is one hundred paces on each side. It is not surrounded by a ditch. There are some small pieces of cannon at each of its bastions, and a house at each curtain (side wall) to serve as a store and barrack. Five or six families of Mohawk Indians reside outside the fort.

"From Fort Cannatchocari to Fort Hunter is about 12 leagues; the road is pretty good; carriages pass over it; it continues along the banks of the Mohawk river. About a hundred houses, at a greater or less distance from one another are found within this length of road. There are some situated also about half a league in the interior. The inhabitants of this section are Germans who compose a company of about 100 men each.

"Fort Hunter is situated on the borders of the Mohawk river, and is of the same form as that of Cannatchocari, with the exception that it is twice as large. There is likewise a

house (blockhouse) at each curtain. The cannon at each bastion are from 7 to 9 pounders. The pickets of this Fort are higher than those of Cannatchocari. There is a church or temple in the middle of the Fort; in the interior of the fort are also some thirty cabins of Mohawk Indians, which is the most considerable village. This fort, like that of Cannatchocari, has no ditch; there's only a large swing door at the entrance.

"Leaving Fort Hunter a creek (Schoharie) is passed at the mouth of which the fort is located. It can be forded, and crossed in batteaux in summer and on the ice in winter. There are some houses outside under the protection of the Fort in which the country people seek shelter when they fear or learn that an Indian or French war party is in the field.

"From Fort Hunter to Chenectedi or Corlar (Schenectady) is seven leagues. The public carriage way continues along the right bank of the Mohawk river. About 20 to 30 houses are found within this distance separated the one from the other from about a quarter to half a league. The Inhabitants of this section are Dutch. They form a company with some other inhabitants of the left bank of the Mohawk river, about 100 men strong.

"Chenectedi or Corlar, situated on the bank of the Mohawk river, is a village of about 300 houses. It is surrounded by upright pickets, flanked from distance to distance. Entering this village by the gate on the Fort Hunter side, there is a fort to the right which forms a species of citadel in the interior of the village itself. It is a square, flanked with four bastions or demi-bastions, and is constructed half of masonry and half of timbers piled one over the other above the masonry. It is capable of holding two or 300 men. There are some pieces of cannon as a battery on the rampart. It is not encircled by a ditch. The entrance is through a large swing gate raised like a drawbridge. By penetrating the village in attacking it at another point, the fire from the fort can be avoided.

"The greatest portion of the Inhabitants of Chenectedi are Dutch.

"From Chenectedi to Albany or Orange is estimated to be 6 or 7 leagues (Note in the original.—The total distance from Chouegen to Orange is 78 or 79 leagues). The road

is excellent for all sorts of carriages; the soil sandy and the country covered with open timber. There are only a few hills. A league and a half from Chenectedi there is a house on the road which is a tavern. A league and a half farther on, that is to say, half way, another house is met which is also a tavern.

"Orange is situate on the right bank of the river Orange otherwise called Hudson. It is not fortified on the forest side except by an enclosure of walls, or pickets, without a ditch, which is flanked at certain distances; the river defends the entrance on the other side. It is calculated to be smaller than the enclosure of the town of Montreal. In the interior of Orange there is a fort, a sort of citadel, capable of containing 300 men; here are some cannon.

"This is all that relates to the Right bank of the Mohawk river. Let us pass to the left bank, which is the North side of that river. . . . . The Palatine Village (Herkimer) was situated on the left bank of the Mohawk river, not directly opposite Fort Kouari but about half a quarter of a league above it. You go from this village to the fort by batteau; the river can even be forded in several places.

"The Palatine Village which consisted of thirty houses has been entirely destroyed and burnt by a detachment under M. de Belhetre's orders. The inhabitants of this village formed a company of 100 men bearing arms. They reckoned there 300 persons, men, women and children, 102 of whom were made prisoners and the remainder fled to Fort Kouari except a few who were killed whilst fording the river.

"From the Palatine Village to the Little Falls, still continuing along the left bank of the river, is estimated about three leagues. In this distance there had been eight houses which have been abandoned. The inhabitants of these houses compose a company with those of Fort Kouari at the opposite side of the river.

"The portage at the Little Falls is a quarter of a league and is passed with carts. There is a road on both sides of the river, but that on the left bank is preferable, being better.

"From the portage at the Little Falls, continuing along the left bank of the river, there is only a foot path which is traveled with difficulty on horseback. Three leagues must be made over this path to arrive at the Canada creek where we meet the high road that passes from the termination of

the Little Falls portage along the right bank of the Mohawk river, where there is a ford above Fort Cannatchocari, opposite the mouth of the Canada Creek. There is also a ferry boat at this place to put carts across when the river is high.

"After fording Canada Creek, we continue along the left bank of the Mohawk river and high road which is passable for carts for 12 leagues to Col. Johnson's mansion. In the whole of this distance, the soil is very good. About 500 houses are erected, at a distance one from the other. The greatest number of those on the bank of the river are built of stone. Those at a greater distance from the river in the interior are about half a league off; they are new Settlements, built of wood.

"There is not a fort in the whole of this distance of 12 leagues; There is but one farmer's house built of stone that is somewhat fortified and surrounded with pickets. It is situate on the bank of the river three leagues from where the Canada Creek empties into the Mohawk river. The inhabitants of this Country are Germans. They form four companies of 100 men each.

"Col. Johnson's mansion is situate on the border of the left bank of the River Mohawk; it is three stories high; built of stone, with port holes (*crénelées*) and a parapet and flanked with four bastions on which are some small guns. In the same yard, on both sides of the Mansion, there are two small houses; that on the right of the entrance is a store, and that on the left is designed for workmen, negroes and other domestics. The yard gate is a heavy swing gate well ironed; it is on the Mohawk river side; from this gate to the river there is about 200 paces of level ground. The high road passes there. A small rivulet coming from the north empties itself into the Mohawk river, about 200 paces below the enclosure of the yard. On this stream there is a Mill about 50 paces distance from the house; below the Mill is the miller's house where grain and flour are stored and on the other side of the creek 100 paces from the mill, is a barn in which cattle and fodder are kept. One hundred and fifty paces from Colonel Johnson's Mansion at the North side, on the left bank of the little creek, is a little hill on which is a small house with port holes where is ordinarily kept a guard of honour of some twenty men, which serves also as an advanced post.

"From Colonel Johnson's house to Chenectedi is counted seven leagues; the road is good; all sorts of vehicles pass over it. About twenty houses are found from point to point on this road.

"The Mohawk river can be forded during summer, a league and a quarter west of Chenectedi. Opposite Chenetedi the traverse is usually in a ferry boat and batteaux.

"The inhabitants of this country are Dutchmen. They form a Company of about 100 men with those on the opposite side of the river below Fort Hunter.

"Going from Chenectedi to the mouth of the Mohawk river where it discharges into that of Orange, there is a Great Fall (Cohoes) which prevents the passage of batteaus, so that everything on the river going from Chenectedi to Orange, passes over the high road that leads there direct.

"From Orange to New York is counted 50 or 60 leagues. Barks from New York ascend to Orange. There is also a high road from one to the other of these towns, on the left bank of the river. The country is thickly inhabited on both sides of the river. The inhabitants of Orange are also mostly Dutch like those of Chenectedi.

"From Orange to Boston is considered about 60 leagues. The road thither is across the country. From Boston to New York is reckoned the same distance following the road along the seaside.

"New York, situate on the left bank of the Orange River, near its mouth at the sea, is located on a tongue of land forming a peninsula. It is fortified only on the land side. Opposite New York is a large Island (Long Island) very well inhabited and very wealthy. All sorts of vessels of war and Merchantmen anchor between the town and that Island.

"*Nota.* In the whole Country of the River Corlar (Mohawk) there are nine Companies of Militia under the Command of Colonel Johnson; eight only remain, that of the Village of the Palatines being no longer in existence, the greater portion having been defeated by M. de Belhetre's detachment. Colonel Johnson assembles these companies when he has news of any expedition which may concern the Mohawk river."

A description of the 1758 attack on German Flats, printed in the New York "Mercury" of May twenty-second, that year, nearly a

month afterward, said that most of the inhabitants having notice from Captain Herkimer (spelled Herchamer in the account) left their houses and assembled at the fort. Four families, unable to reach the fort, had in their houses two Indian traders and six wagoners who were carrying an officer's baggage to the fort.

> "At 4 o'clock [the account goes], all of a sudden, the houses were attacked; and the waggoners being surprised, run up stairs the better to defend themselves. The Indians immediately rushed into the house, and killed and scalped all that were below; some of the Indians attempted the stairs, but they were knocked down by the wagoners; they then fired up through the loft, and soon were joined by more Indians, who fired many shots quite through the house, and proposed to set it on fire, which intimidated John Ehel, a wagoner, to such a degree that he leap'd out at a window, thinking to make his Escape, but was soon killed; the other five defended themselves with great Intrepedity having killed one Indian, until they were relieved by a Party of Rangers, who came to their assistance, and after exchanging a few shot, the Indians fled, seeing our people had the advantage of a log fence. . . . . Capt. Herchamer says he saw four or five of the Indians drop, but were carried off.
>
> "In the above affair, 33 inhabitants were killed, and Lieut. Hair (Hare?) of the Rangers, received a slight Wound in the Breast. . . . . Next day some Oneidas came down to Trade and met the Enemy going off, who told them they had 6 of their Company killed, and 9 Wounded. Next morning a woman came into the Fort that had been scalped, besides having her Nose almost cut off, with a Wound in her Breast and another in her side. She is likely to recover, related all that happened till she was scalped and says there was Onondago Indians amongst them."

The second French assault on German Flats was followed by the recall of Loudoun, whose ineffectiveness was apparent. Abercombie succeeded to the chief command, but proved to be another blunderer. At that time the great tent camp occupied both banks of the Hudson north and south of Albany, including the flats back of Fort Crailo on the east, the pasture on the west bank, the flats at Watervliet and west of Capitol Hill. Vessels in the river were laden with supplies

and troops. Farmers from the surrounding region were called on to supply all possible provisions. Officers were billeted in Fort Crailo and in Albany dwellings and the fort. The normal activities of the city, whose population was about four thousand, were submerged by the presence of the huge force, the largest armies America had ever seen assembled at one point. Wheat was brought down from Schoharie and other places to Albany and Schenectady, where encampments were also made. The hubbub quite upset the routine of the valley. At the request of Lord Augustus Howe, young and popular officer and friend of Captain Philip Schuyler (later the famous General Schuyler), the city authorities banned the sale of liquor to English soldiers. There was much gayety amid the preparations for the northern expedition. Mrs. Anne Grant in her "Memoirs of An American Lady" records that the play "Beaux Stratagem," a comedy popular in England, was presented by British officers in a barn which had been outfitted as a theatre. Sturdy Dutch husbands and their wives were scandalized by the appearance of some of the officers in women's rôles and garb. This was undoubtedly the pioneer play to be presented in the city.

Among the famous commands in the expedition were Rogers' Rangers, the Black Watch, and survivors of the Braddock débâcle. At this time occurred the writing of "Yankee Doodle," which became the marching song of the American Revolution. Tradition has preserved the account of the composition of the words of the song by Dr. Richard Schuckburg, a surgeon in Captain Horatio Gates' Independent Company of New York. Fort Crailo, the manor house of the lower Van Rensselaer manor, had been taken over as headquarters for staff officers under Abercrombie. Troops drilled in fields near-by and here recruits reported for duty. The British regulars in their fine uniforms; the shining brass cannon; ornate drums and resplendent officers caused much gaping admiration among the Dutch farmers coming in with supplies.

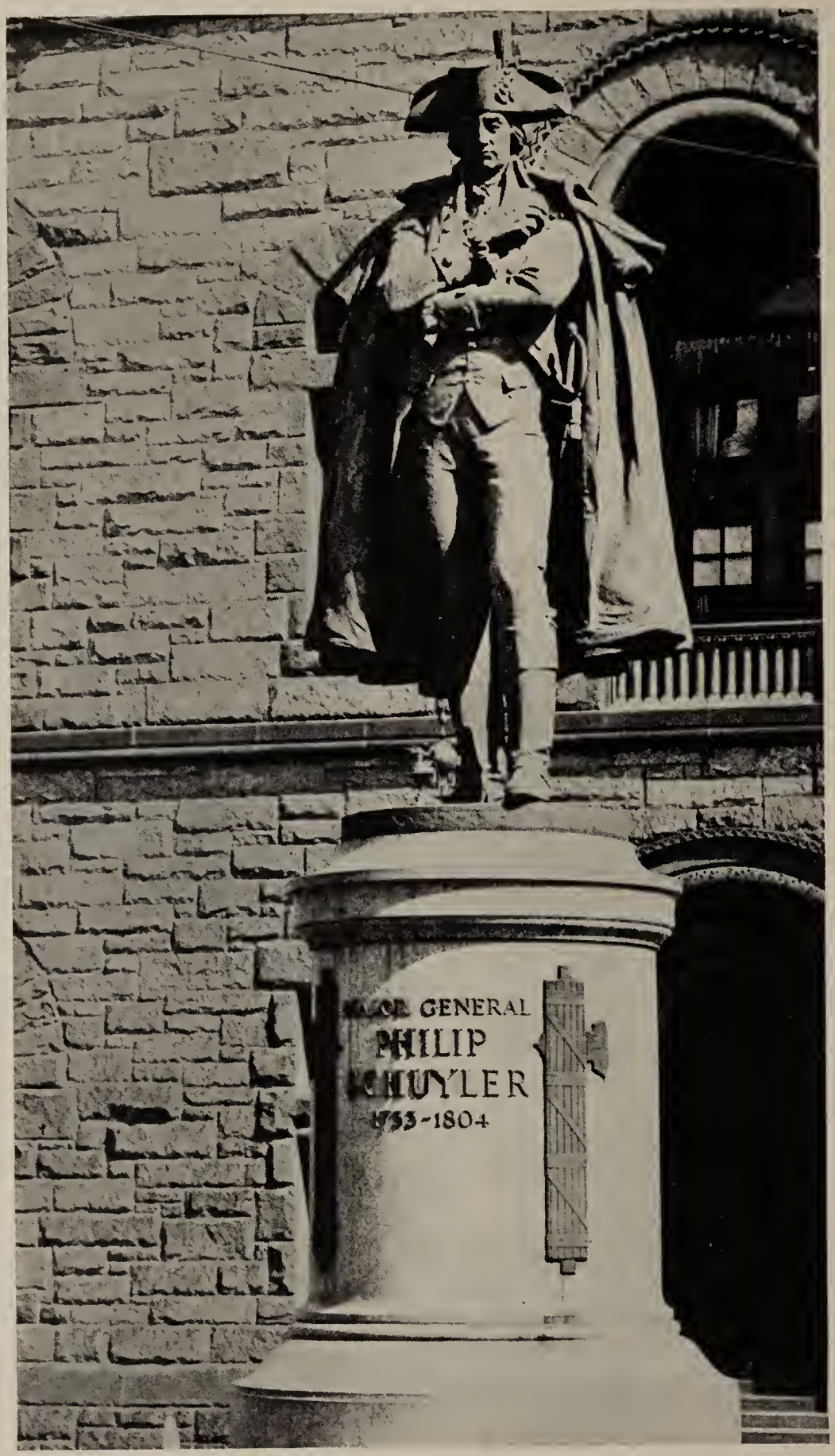
Moved by these "countryfied" comments, Schuckburg, in a leisure time while seated on the well in the rear of the fort, set down the derisive words of "Yankee Doodle," fitting them to an old English marching song of Cromwell's time, "Lucky Locket." He gave the piece to the bandmaster and the song was soon sung with gusto throughout the camp amid hearty laughter of all listeners. Another version is that the recruits who came to fill out the ranks of the Royal American Regiment which organized at Albany were the target of the jeering composition. As it turned out, the verses came into

special popularity with the patriot American troops after the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga. It is said to have been played as the captured British Army marched from the field after stacking their arms by the Hudson River bank.

Dr. Schuckburg was a familiar figure in the region, friend of Sir William Johnson. He became Secretary of Indian Affairs in 1759 on the death of Captain Wraxall, by Johnson's nomination, at which time he left Captain Gates' corps. In 1762, Brodhead says, he was appointed surgeon of the 17th Foot, then serving in America, to which regiment he continued to be attached until 1768, when he obtained appointment to the Indian secretaryship at Johnstown. In May, 1755, he received a grant of land in the present town of Glen, Montgomery County.

More troops kept coming in and by the spring of 1758 Abercrombie had nearly twenty thousand regulars and Provincials. In May the general ordered an advance, and the huge army moved out of Albany for the north for Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The vast command slogged over the woods roads to Fort Edward and Lake George, where a huge fleet of barges was built to carry them down the lake. The flotilla must have made an amazing scene in that forest-bound wilderness, red-coated uniforms of the regulars contrasting with the buckskin of the rangers, and green clad Colonial units.

Montcalm, at Ticonderoga, which had been built in 1755, had but three thousand six hundred troops. Rather than await a siege, he had a log breastwork built about ten feet high on the landward side of the fort, with long trenches. Beyond the breastwork he placed a network of trees, branches pointing outward. This made a formidable barricade. Completing the voyage down the lake, Abercrombie ordered the English regulars to advance by the land side. They marched unhesitatingly into the tangle of trees, met by a villainous fire from the Frenchmen screened behind their breastworks. Wave after wave of red-coated troops were sent into this death trap. More than two thousand British were slain in one of the most destructive attacks in history. The Black Watch command was so decimated that its members have covered their uniform buttons with black in memory of the slaughter. The great tragedy was that Abercrombie had not sent up his artillery to blow a path through the entanglements for the advance. The heavy loss caused a panicky retreat and the entire expedition which had set out so gloriously returned crestfallen to Albany.



Statue of General Philip Schuyler at City Hall, Albany

Contributing to the defeat was the death early in the battle of Lord Howe. His body was taken to Albany by Captain Schuyler. A record has been preserved of his burial beneath old St. Peter's Church.

The defeat stunned the Colonies and disheartened the Iroquois. William Pitt, coming to power in the British home government, resolved to retrieve the disgrace. He replaced Abercrombie with Sir Jeffrey Amherst. In August, 1758, however, Lieutenant-Colonel John Bradstreet led a detachment from Albany up the Mohawk Valley to Oswego, whence he made a surprise raid on Kingston (Frontenac), capturing the fort and obtaining quantities of supplies. This was a serious blow to the French, breaking their line of communications to the Great Lakes and western country. In November, General Forbes took Fort Duquesne and changed its name to Fort Pitt in honor of the British minister.

Amherst, fresh from victory at Louisburg, arrived at Boston with several regiments and pushed through the woods to Albany.

In 1759 he sent Johnson with Prideaux and five thousand New York and New England militia to take Niagara, a strong French outpost. Prideaux was killed during the attack, but Johnson clinched the victory. Amherst, the efficient, then moved slowly but effectively from Albany to Ticonderoga, which the French, vastly outnumbered, abandoned. He blew it up. Wolfe took Quebec. Colonel Rogers led his Rangers in the famous attack on St. Francis Indian village above Montreal, destroying the village and two hundred savages, but losing half of his command in the retreat, pursued by a superior avenging force.

The French empire in America which so shortly before seemed to be on the verge of complete victory, was now crumbling fast. The final blow was delivered by Amherst the following year. He moved his vast army to Scotia, opposite Schenectady, where six thousand Provincial and four thousand regular troops encamped, the largest army to enter the Mohawk Valley. For days the King's Highway along the north shore of the river thudded with the tread of marching men, and the rattle and creak of supply trains and gun carriages.

A two-way drive had been planned, a reverse version of the "scissors" campaign which Burgoyne later tried on Albany. Amherst, going up the Mohawk to Oswego and then down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, was to attack Montreal from that angle. Colonel Haviland with the rest of the army going from Crown Point was to proceed down Lake Champlain to the Montreal rendezvous. Both movements were timed to arrive at the same time, and actually

reached their destinations one day apart, a remarkable feat under the conditions.

Sir Jeffrey himself remained five days at the Scotia camp, the site of which is marked by a tablet. On the twenty-fourth of June, at the end of the first day's westward march, he stopped at Fort Hunter after a brief call at Fort Johnson. The next night he was at Colonel Frey's fort, Palatine Bridge; on June twenty-sixth at Indian Castle, Fort Hendrick; on the twenty-ninth at Fort Herkimer, spending a day there. At Oswego the expedition took to boats, and arrived at Lachine September seventh. Haviland arrived opposite Montreal on the eighth. The commands totalled seventeen thousand troops, including one thousand Indians, who had come up with General Johnson from Oswego. Vaudreuil, holding Montreal, had but two thousand four hundred defenders. Seeing the futility of resistance, he signed a capitulation. The French colors fluttered down on September eighth. With Montreal fell also the French control of the Ohio, Great Lakes and Mississippi. The British flag now flew from Florida north. The French dream of empire which had been nourished since Cartier ventured up the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga had vanished at last—225 years later. Amherst offered generous terms, which included religious freedom for the French inhabitants.

The event was most fateful for the Colonies. The long wars of the frontier were over at last. Now they could begin to think about developing their commerce and settlement. Expansion soon took place. Many were the land grants issued; homes built, new settlements begun. A new day had arrived, a turning point in Colonial affairs. Who could have predicted that in fifteen years from the time Canada fell, the Colonies and the Mother Country would be at each other's throats?

Contributing to that amazing event were significant circumstances which had their foundation in the very war that relieved the Colonies of the French menace forever. To carry on that struggle, Britain had spent a sum vast for those times. Who would pay that debt? The Colonies had too often exhibited indifference to the problems of the home government to expect any direct aid from them, even though the American expenditures had been vital to their own protection. In a high-handed spirit, the Provincial Assemblies had managed to acquire control of taxes and expenditures and constantly sought yet greater liberty of action, free of royal interference. Colonial governors became very sensitive in defense of the royal prestige, the word "prerogative" appearing very frequently in their complaints to Whitehall over the boldness of the legislators.

There was another important aftermath of the French-Indian War. The sending of regular royal troops to America led to complications. Though the war ended, the dangers were not over. French reprisals were a possibility and troops could not be sent home on that account. The Indians, left in the lurch by France, envisioned the loss of all their lands. Under Pontiac, they staged a two-year revolt, attacking the western frontier. These troubles ended in 1765 when Johnson, after a great council at Detroit, forced Pontiac to make a peace at Oswego. In 1768, at Fort Stanwix, Sir William made his greatest treaty, that which fixed the boundary line between the red civilization and the white. The line—beyond which the whites promised not to go—ran from Wood Creek, west of Fort Stanwix (Rome), down the Unadilla River to the Delaware; westward to the Susquehanna and Oswego, and southwesterly to Kittanning on the Allegheny River above Pittsburgh. Three thousand Indians attended the conference, which lasted for weeks. The Indian villages east of the treaty line were not to be disturbed. The eastern lands thus were permanently opened.

It was not long before the Colonists were complaining about the cost of maintaining and quartering the British troops, and taxes and billeting became big issues in the period 1765-75. America never liked a large standing army in a time of peace—even in Colonial days, when the Provinces were far from united.

But while these new influences were at work, settlement grew apace. Governors were beseiged for land grants and many patents were issued. An unusual one was that granted in 1761 by George III for a tract in Rensselaer County to John R. Bleecker, Abraham Lansing, Isaac Lawyer and others. The King specified the new community should be named Pittstown in honor of his famous minister, and the name remains today, said to be the only town in the State named by royal command.

Schenectady, which experienced new growth due to returning trade, now made application for a borough charter. Albany burghers, learning of it, asked the Governor to determine whether the Albany western boundary set at the Sand Kill in Dongan's charter conflicted with the Schenectady limits. The borough charter was granted October 22, 1765, by Governor Colden, and for the first time in its hundred years of settlement, Schenectady enjoyed larger privileges than those of a town. There was only one other borough charter in the Province, that of Westchester.

The corporate title then became "The Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the Borough Town of Schenectady." The officers

named in the charter were: Isaac Vrooman, mayor; John Duncan, recorder; Jacobus Van Slyke, John Glen, Jr., John Sanders, Daniel Campbell, John Visger, and John B. Van Eps, aldermen; Gerit Lansing, Rynier Myndertse, Ryer Schermerhorn, Tobias Ten Eyck, assistant aldermen; Thomas McIlworth, town clerk; Christopher Yates, treasurer or chamberlain; Isaac Marselis and Isaac Swits, assessors; Barent S. Veder, collector; Richard Collins, high constable; Thomas Murray, Hermanus Terwilliger, John Van Voast, Charles Dennison, James Dunlop and James Wasson, Jr., subconstables, and Alexander Campbell, sergeant of the mace. Aldermen were to be elected annually on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel. The mayor, recorder and town clerk were appointed and removable by the Governor and Council of the Province.

An elaborate charter was drawn up, which, however, probably never went into effect. The difficulty was that it did not dispose of the question of ownership of the common lands. The trustees appointed under the Dongan patent of 1684 would not relinquish their rights to the new common council, still holding and managing the public property in the town. Lacking this control, the borough officials were seriously handicapped, and the differences were not finally settled until after the Revolution, when a new city charter was obtained. The borough township was called the Schenectady District of Albany County after 1771.

During this period many of the noted Dutch homes of Schenectady and vicinity were erected. Among these early dwellings were those of D. D. Campbell, 1762; Robert Sanders, 1750; Vrooman and Fonda houses, 1752; Rosa house, 1700; Abraham Yates, 1710; and the Governor Yates house, 1735. Schenectady is fortunate in having more of these houses standing than any other community in the region. The Alexander Glen home at Scotia was rebuilt in 1713 on a near-by site, the main door and some other materials having been removed from the first dwelling, which was gradually being inundated by the river. It is one of the most noted frontier homes now standing, and may be seen close to the river bank at the Scotia end of the Great Western Gateway bridge.

In Albany, Schuyler mansion was built in 1761 by General Bradstreet, British commissary, for Colonel Philip Schuyler and his wife, the former Katherine Van Rensselaer, daughter of Colonel John Van Rensselaer, of Claverack. They had resided since their marriage at Fort Crailo at the family home in Albany, at the southeast corner of State and Pearl streets, where Philip was born. The mansion was in

English style, of brick with square chimneys, and very soundly built, on an eminence in the Schuyler estate, at the south end of the city, called "The Pastures." Here many great men of the day were entertained.

In 1765 Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon of Rensselaerwyck, completed the erection of a commodious manor house at the north end of Albany just above Thacher Street. It was of English manorial style, and beautifully furnished. The main hall, with the original wall paper, forms an exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. Opposite the manor house, on Broadway, was a one-story brick building, where were kept the manorial papers, maps, and other records. On this building, which was removed a few years ago, were posted each year the valuation of a day's labor, wheat and fowl, for guidance of the patroon's tenants. Under the manorial leases the tenants were required to give specified number of days' service annually to "the lord" as well as give him percentages of the crop yield, cattle and poultry increase, and ground fees. The manor house, due to industrial incroachments in 1893, was taken down stone by stone and rebuilt at Williams College for use as a fraternity house. With the Schuyler mansion, it was noted as a gathering place for leaders of the Colonial, Revolutionary and later periods.

Impressions of Albany in the Colonial period have been left by numerous writers. The Rev. Samuel Chandler, chaplain of a Massachusetts regiment, while in Albany in 1755, boarded at Lottridge's, the English tavern. He noted that many of the brick houses in the city were adorned with black bricks bearing dates of construction, and the Governor's house was ornamented with "two black brick hearts." The gable ends of the brick houses were notched like steps. Cellars of the dwellings had loopholes for crossfire in event of attack. There were numerous weather-vanes in the shape of horses, lions, geese and sloops. Settees in front of the houses were kept scoured. Along the north end of the city was a stone wall with loopholes, an additional defense. The chaplain preached in the barn at Colonel Philip Pieterse Schuyler's home at The Flatts, Watervliet, and was afterward conveyed to Albany in Colonel Schuyler's chaise.

Mrs. Anne Grant, who as a girl spent some time at The Flatts estate, a guest of the Schuylers, has left the most complete account of life in the frontier city in the Colonial period. Describing the play staged by the young British officers, she wrote:

> "The play . . . . was acted in a barn and pretty well attended. . . . . It was the Beaux's Stratagem, no favorable specimen of the delicacy or morality of the British theatre;

> and for the wit it contained very little of that was level to the comprehension of the novices who were there first initiated into a knowledge of the magic of the scene. . . . . They laughed very heartily at seeing the gay young ensigns, whom they had been used to dance with, flirting fans, displaying great hoops, and with painted cheeks and colored eyebrows, sailing about in female habiliments.
>
> "The fame of their exhibition went abroad and opinions were formed of them no way favorable to the actors or to the audience. In this region of reality, where rigid truth was always undisguised, they had not learned to distinguish between fiction and falsehood. Painting their faces of all things seemed most to violate the Albanian idea of decorum, and was looked upon as a most flagrant abomination. So harmless did this entertainment appear to the new converts to fashion that the 'Recruiting Officer' was given out for another night."

Ordinances creating freemen in the city were revised in view of the need of raising more funds, to provide for a fee of three pounds twelve shillings for merchants and one pound sixteen shillings for craftsmen. The city bought a new fire engine in 1762 from London, at a cost of 158 pounds 16 shillings. The common council purchased forty-eight leather buckets for the thirty-one firemen. Three stone docks were built in 1766, due to the inconvenience of unloading vessels without wharves. One was at the waterfront in the rear of the city hall (Stadt Huys), one at the foot of Maiden Lane and one at the stone wall on the north end of the town. In 1771 the streets were lighted with twenty whale oil lamps.

Another famous building of the Colonial period was Vanderheyden mansion, built by Johannes Beekman in 1725. It was purchased by Jacob Vanderheyden in 1778 and occupied by him until his death in 1820. The building, with its twin notched roof peaks, greatly intrigued Washington Irving, who obtained the weather-vane when it was demolished in 1833. He described it in the story of Dolph Heyliger in "Bracebridge Hall," one of the American classics.

> "In those days [Irving wrote] Albany was in all its glory and inhabited almost exclusively by the descendants of the original Dutch settlers, not having as yet been discovered and colonised by the restless people of New England. Everything was quiet and orderly; everything was conducted

calmly and leisurely; no hurry, no bustle, no struggling and scrambling for existence. The grass grew about the unpaved streets and relieved the eye by its refreshing verdure. Tall sycamores or pendant willows shaded the houses, with caterpillars swinging, in long silken strings, from their branches; or moths, fluttering about like coxcombs, in joy at their gay transformation. The houses were built in the old Dutch style, with the gable-ends towards the street. The thrifty housewife was seated on a bench before her door, in close-crimped cap, bright-flowered gown, and white apron, busily employed in knitting. The Husband smoked his pipe on the opposite bench. . . . .

"At length they arrived at his mansion (that of Heer Antony Vander Heyden). It was of some magnitude, in the Dutch style, with large iron figures on the gables, that gave the date of its erection and showed that it had been built in the earliest times of the settlement. . . . . Over the parlor fireplace was, as usual, the family coat of arms, painted and framed; above which was a long duck fowling-piece, flanked by an Indian pouch, and a powder horn. The room was decorated with many Indian articles, such as pipes of peace, tomahawks, scalping-knives, hunting pouches, and belts of wampum; and there were various kinds of fishing-tackle, and two or three fowling-pieces in the corners. . . . . In the evening there dropped in several of the worthies of the place, the Van Rensselaers, and the Gansevoorts, and the Rosebooms and others of Antony Vander Heyden's intimates, to hear an account of his expedition for he was the Sinbad of Albany, and his exploits and adventures were favorite topics of conversation among the inhabitants. . . . . "

Famed also because it served for some of the background for Irving's story of Ichabod Crane was the Van Alen house, built at Kinderhook, in 1736, by Adam Van Alen. Irving for a time lived near-by at Lindenwald, then residence of William P. Van Ness. He took the village schoolmaster Jesse Merwin for his character of Ichabod Crane and Katrina Van Alen became Katrina Van Tassel. Irving also visited the Johannes Knickerbacker home at Schaghticoke and borrowed from his host the name he gave, slightly altered, to his New York "Knickerbockers."

Settlement, spreading after the treaty with Pontiac, now reached, although sparsely, from the New England borders to the western country. Along the Hudson and Mohawk, roads had been opened in

1715 for considerable distances, known as the King's Highway. These were extended in 1735. Some of the ancient milestones survive. The famous Leeds Bridge in the Catskills was partly built in 1760, additional spans being added in 1792. The stone-arched structure was rebuilt in 1937.

In the Catskill vicinity settlement was active during the Colonial period. Following the early Dutch settlers—the Van Vechtens, Van Bergens, Broncks and others—Benjamin Dubois, grandson of Louis Dubois, a Huguenot pioneer at Hurley, settled at Catskill Landing, in 1721.

At Berne, in present Albany County, settlement was made in 1750 by Jacob Weidman, who named it for the city of his birth in Switzerland. Along Fox Creek, the George Mann Tavern and the Becker stone house were pre-Revolutionary and still stand.

In Otsego County, settlement called Oak Hill was made by John Tunnicliff, an English pioneer, in 1750. Colonel John Harper, from Cherry Valley, settled in Harpersfield in 1771. A gristmill was built at Cobleskill in 1765, east of the house of Johannes Schafer, who with others acquired six thousand acres there in 1754. Springfield was begun by Nicholas Low in 1762 and Captain Augustine Prevost built a mill and log house in 1764.

The Butlers, Colonel John and his son Walter, lived at the family house in Butlersbury, a mile north of Fonda, built in 1742 by Walter Butler, Sr., who died in 1760. They had large land holdings in the valley. It was a sloping roofed "salt box" type of dwelling and became the seat of Tory plotting in that region. At Canajoharie, Martin Janse Van Alstyne built the story-and-a-half stone house in 1749, which was the patriot headquarters in the Revolution, now the Fort Rensselaer Club. Hoffmans was settled by Johannes Van Eps in 1750. Johannes Glen, son of the pioneer, Alexander Lindsay Glen, built a new mansion in Scotia in 1713, known as the Glen Sanders house. Abraham Glen, son of Johannes, built a home near-by in 1730, which stands.

On the east side of the Hudson there was also a beginning made of new settlements. Several settlers located on the Abraham Jacob Lansing patent, granted in 1763. This was originally called Stone Arabia. It came to be known as Lansingburg. Dirk Vander Heyden operated a ferry at the site of present Troy in 1707. Godfrey Brimmer, captured in the 1755 raid on the Hoosick River and carried to Canada, returned after the French treaty of peace and built a log cabin at Berlin, in Rensselaer County. Austerlitz was settled in 1750

by Judah Lawrence and others from New England. Lebanon Springs had its inception as a spa in 1766, when Thomas Hitchcock, a British army officer, went there to enjoy the waters. He returned in 1771, built a bathhouse and soon attracted a considerable patronage.

Along the Hudson settlement was made at Athens by the Van Loons, on which account the village was early known as Loonenburg. The Jan Van Loon house was built in 1706.



Hudson Viewed from Athens in 1860, from Painting by Henry Ary

At West Coxsackie, Peter Bronck's house of 1663 was enlarged in 1738. Numerous patents were granted in the Catskill area, including the Beekman and Livingston patent of 1719; John Morin Scott patent for five thousand acres; and a patent of twelve thousand acres in the Greenville vicinity to Captain Augustine Prevost in 1765. Prevost erected a manor house which still survives.

Colonel George Croghan, Indian interpreter and aid to Sir William Johnson, received patents in the Otsego Lake country totalling over four hundred thousand acres. He lived on the lakeside in 1769. He became heavily involved, however, and had to mortgage most

of his holdings, a portion of which came into possession of William Cooper, founder of Cooperstown, in the post-Revolutionary period.

In the same vicinity the Rev. John Christopher Hartwick, Lutheran missionary, bought a tract of twenty-one thousand acres from the Indians for one hundred pounds, receiving a patent in 1761. He proposed to found a religious community there, which evolved into Hartwick Seminary. Missionaries from Stockbridge, the Rev. Gideon Hawley and Timothy Woodbridge, in 1753 visited Schoharie and went from there to the Susquehanna preaching at Indian villages.

William Bouck, son of Christian Bouck, a Palatine, in 1755 acquired two thousand nine hundred acres in the Schoharie district, including Bouck's Island. The Stone Fort Church in Schoharie was erected in 1772.

Following the construction of the Claverack Dutch Reformed Church in 1726, the congregation was supplied until 1756 by Domine Erichzon of Schenectady, Domine Van Schie of Albany, and others. John Van Rensselaer gave a deed for the church land in 1767. The Rev. Gerhard Gabriel Gebhard became the minister in 1776.

On the Castleton Road, a few miles below Albany, the Jan Bries house was built in 1723, and the Van Rensselaer-Genêt house in 1742, both standing. The latter was built by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer for his bride, and sold in 1802 to George Clinton, becoming the home of Citizen Edmond Charles Genêt, first French minister to the United States, who married Cornelia Clinton, daughter of the Governor.

In 1765, Nicholas Herkimer, son of Johan Joost Herkimer, built the homestead opposite Little Falls, which was considered the finest in the valley next to Fort Johnson.

Sir William had taken great pains with the construction of Fort Johnson, even to the lead roof which he imported from London. His mode of living was picturesque as well as adventurous. Mrs. John Grant, who went to Fort Johnson in 1751 to paint Sir William's portrait, said she met at table the venerable King Hendrick, then over seventy; his brother, Abraham, sixty; the father of Caroline Hendrick, who was Sir William's housekeeper at the time; Nicklaus Brant, chief of the upper castle of the Mohawks, and numerous others. Nicklaus was a "man of most prodigious silence and the most grave and solemn courtesy." Johnson had fifty or sixty people working for him at that time, carrying on an active mercantile trade, managing far-ranging Indian diplomacy at the same time.

Feeling cramped for space, and unable to buy in the immediate vicinity owing to patents granted the Hansens at Tribes Hill, the Butlers, the Kayaderosseras patentees on the east, and others, Sir William cast his eyes northward, looking for a new abode. He had won a place of great wealth and distinction, being virtually the "king" of the valley, looked up to universally as a great and wise leader. He was able to relax from many of his duties, having three deputies carry on the detailed work—Colonel George Croghan; his son, John Johnson, and nephew, Guy Johnson. Guy had married one of Sir William's daughters, and in 1766 he built Guy Park Manor for them, beside the river at present Amsterdam. Here they lived until the Revolution in much splendor. The same year Sir William erected a large mill for his tenants.

Near the close of the French War, Sir William acquired large holdings from the Kingsboro Patent (granted in 1753) which extended between East and West Canada creeks and probably contained ninety thousand acres; and the Sacandaga Patent, granted in 1741. In the vicinity of Johnstown, in 1759, he began planning the estate which became the capital of his virtual principality. In 1762 the construction of Johnson Hall was completed, and he moved there the following year with Molly Brant (Lady Johnson) leaving Fort Johnson to his son, John, who was made a Baronet in 1765, when he visited England.

Johnson Hall, while nine miles from Fort Johnson, is only about five miles in direct line north of Fonda, with which it was connected by a road passing the house of the Butlers, the close allies of the Johnsons in the Revolution. Sir William established a free school in 1764 for the families he had located at his new community, building the Drumm house for the schoolmaster. He induced nearly one hundred settlers to remove to his settlement in 1762, giving the Lutherans and Presbyterians each fifty acres as a glebe for pastoral support. Many of the families were descendants of Mohawk Valley pioneers. He also settled four miles to the east a group of Catholic Scotch Highlanders, who became his faithful followers. They fled to Canada with Sir John Johnson in the Revolution. In 1770 eighty more families moved to Johnstown, and a thriving settlement was under way. In 1760 Sir William built St. John's Episcopal Church, which was destroyed by fire in 1772. The present church dates from 1836.

The site of the new settlement, while remote from the hurly-burly of the Mohawk Valley, was on six Indian trails, by which the

aborigines from early times had been accustomed to going to the north, east and west and down to their homes on the Mohawk. Evidences of the Sacandaga footpath to the north were found less than twenty year ago. For his major Indian councils, for which Johnson Hall now became the seat, the location was most appropriate.

During Pontiac's War, when many threats were made against Sir William, the hall was fortified by a ten-foot wall, and two blockhouses were built to the east and west, one of which remains. On the lawn before the north door Sir William and Indians sat at councils. Evidences survive of the Colonial garden he laid out, doubtless tended by tawny Molly Brant. The blockhouses were extremely solid and punctured by loopholes. Johnson Hall itself, of English style, is of wood. One blockhouse has since been destroyed.

In 1766 Sir William organized St. Patrick's Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, of which he was the first Master. A chamber in the hall was set apart as a lodge room. Many of his valley neighbors were members, including Nicholas Herkimer, who became the patriot leader. Previously Sir William had assisted in the formation of Masonic lodges at Albany and Schenectady. Albany's first lodge was Union Lodge, formed in 1765, obtaining the next year a plot of ground near the hill fort and the English burying place, where a lodge was erected which gave the name to the present street. In 1774 St. George's Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, in Schenectady, received its warrant from Sir William, who was then Grand Master of the Province.

The great expanse of Albany County, spreading into the Indian country no one knew just how far, now was in need of revision. Due to the progress of settlement, the more distant dwellers had to make journeys of one hundred miles in each direction to attend court, or for other legal formalities. The movement to organize new counties came from Sir William soon after he had well established his new estate. The population of Albany County, 10,634 in 1749, had become 42,706 in 1771. With the aid of the Royal Governor, an Act was passed by the Provincial Assembly, March 12, 1772, establishing two new counties, both taken from the vast Albany County domain. The preamble of this measure cited:

> "Whereas the Lands within the County of Albany are more extensive than all the other counties of this Colony taken together; and altho' the Inhabitants thereof are already very numerous and continue to increase, yet it is conceived

> that the settlement of the County would proceed with much greater rapidity (to the vast augmentation of his majesty's revenue and the benefit of the Colony) if a suitable partition was made of the lands, and new counties erected; the number of inhabitants and their great distance from each other rendering the administration of justice extremely difficult and burdensome; many people as County officers, Jury Men, Suitors and Witnesses being obliged to travel nearly one hundred miles to the city of Albany, where the County Gaol is and where the Courts of Common Pleas, Sessions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery are held."

The county was therefore divided by the erection of the new counties of Tryon and Charlotte. Charlotte County extended north of Albany County, between there and Canada. Tryon County occupied the lands of the Province west of Kinquariones (present western boundary of Schenectady County). The line passed southward to the Delaware River. Johnstown was designated the county seat, and Sir William in his thoroughgoing manner at once began the construction of the courthouse and the county jail. The courthouse of brick was dedicated in June, 1772, with formalities, British soldiers, Mohawk savages, Dutch, Palatine, English and Scotch-Irish settlers attending. These structures still stand, the courthouse being the only one of the Colonial period remaining in the State. In the cupola is a bent tringular bar of iron which was used to signal the calling of the court. Many famous trials have been conducted there. The location of the jail at some distance from the courthouse is said to have been due to the desire of the planner to "make a larger settlement." The jail, of stone and brick, became a strong fortification in the Revolution and after its seizure by the patriots was used for the incarceration of Tories.

With the erection of these structures, Sir William's domain was virtually complete. He had realized, perhaps, the ultimate of his dream, and presiding unchallenged in this lordly estate he was a unique figure. A brilliant spectacle was afforded. In 1772, when Governor William Tryon, for whom the county was named, visited Sir William during an Indian conference, and reviewed three regiments of troops under Johnson's command, residents of Johnstown and vicinity, he commissioned Sir William a major-general of the Northern Department.

In 1773, Sir John Johnson, who made previously an alliance with a pretty valley girl, Clara Putnam, by whom he had some children, jilted her and married the rich Polly Watts, member of a prominent New York City family. Her trip up the Hudson by sloop, by carriage to Schenectady, and by batteau, propelled by half naked polemen along the Mohawk, has been described as almost as much of a journey then as a trip to a far country would be today. The contrast from the surroundings of her fashionable home in New York must have been impressive.

Sir William was not to enjoy his new dignities long. On July 11, 1774, he met with six hundred of the Six Nations in a council at Johnson Hall, speaking for two and a half hours under a broiling sun. He was stricken and sank rapidly, dying in two hours. His passing caused great grief among the Indians. He had an amazing funeral, attended, it is said, by two thousand savages. He was buried in a vault under St. John's Church. His grave is now in the churchyard, marked by a marble slab and four corner stones. A tall elm rises above it. The edifice was destroyed by fire, and when last rebuilt was faced on North Market Street, leaving the grave outside the walls.

At this time districts were formed in the counties, those of Tryon County being the Mohawk, Stone Arabia, Canajoharie, Kingsland and German Flats districts, in which local officials were appointed.

It has often been debated whether Sir William would have joined hands with the Colonies against the King. There is no conclusive evidence on the point. The Stamp Act of 1765 produced many riots, leading to the formation of the Sons of Liberty at New York, Albany and other places. The flag of the Albany group is preserved by the Schenectady County Historical Society.

Commenting on these revolts, Sir William wrote from Johnson Hall to the Lords of Trade in November, 1765:

> "The late furious & audacious behaviour of the New Yorkers—excited and supported by several Persons of Consequence there—are doubtless laid before yr Lordships by every faithful servant who dare write and is not afraid that his House shall be burned or himself massacred, amongst which small number I beg leave to assure you I am one & one disinterested, acting on a principle of regard to the welfare of the Colonies, well knowing the Discords in which they would be speedily involved if they were able to effect that

> Democratical system which is their sole aim, and which they may hereafter compose unless a timely check is given to that spirit of Libertinism & Independence daily gaining ground thro' the Artifices & unaccountable conduct of a few pretended Patriots."

Lieutenant-Governor Colden wrote to the home government the following February that "the seditious spirit has not extended greatly into the Country. The city of Albany remained quiet till after their members returned from the Assembly. Then they excited most unaccountable riots in that place." A detachment of the 46th English Regiment was sent in the summer of 1766 to reëstablish order. Among the incidents in Albany was the burning of the sleigh of Postmaster Van Schaick.

One of the most extraordinary events of the period was the return of captured white children by the Indians, which followed the peace with Pontiac. This event, occuring in Albany, was accompanied by the most tragic scenes. Many of the mothers could not identify their children; others found the youngsters so accustomed to Indian life that they did not wish to return to natural parents.

Albany was familiar territory to the savages, since they had been coming there for 150 years to trade. Of old, their warriors, women and children had encamped outside the walls. Mrs. Anne Grant in her memoirs describes their basketry and other industry and the friendly associations that existed. Young braves taught the Albany youth skill in forest lore. Wrote Mrs. Grant:

> "They generally build a slight wigwam under the shelter of the orchard fence on the shadiest side; and never were neighbors more harmless, peaceable and obliging—I might truly add industrious, for in one way or other they were constantly occupied. The women and their children employed themselves in many ingenious handicrafts which since the introduction of the European arts and manufactures have greatly declined.
>
> "Baking trays, wooden dishes, ladles and spoons, shovels and rakes; brooms of peculiar manufacture made by splitting a birch bark into slender but tough filaments; baskets of all kinds and sizes and of similar filaments enriched with most beautiful colors, which they alone knew how to extract from vegetable substances, and incorporate with the wood. They made also of the birch bark (which is here so strong and

tenacious that cradles and canoes are made of it) many receptacles for holding fruit and other things, curiously adorned with embroidery not inelegant, done with sinews of deer; and leggins and moccasins, a very comfortable and highly ornamental substitute for shoes and stockings, then universally used in winter among the men of our own people.

"While the women and children were thus employed, the men sometimes assisted them in the more laborious part of the business, but oftener occupied themselves in fishing on the river, drying or preserving by means of smoke, in sheds erected for the purpose, sturgeon and large eels, which they caught in great quantities, and of an extraordinary size, for winter provision. The summer residence of these ingenious artisans promoted a great intimacy between the females of the vicinity and the Indian women, whose sagacity and comprehension of mind were beyond belief."

Describing the return of the white captives in 1767, Mrs. Grant said the ceremony occurred on hillsides about Albany.

"A certain day was appointed [she wrote] on which all who had lost their children or sought those of their relations, were to come to Albany in search of them; where on that day all Indians possessed of white children were to present them. Poor women who had travelled some hundred miles from the back settlements of Pennsylvania and New England appeared here, with anxious looks and aching hearts not knowing whether their children were alive or how exactly to identify them if they should meet them.

"On a gentle slope near the fort stood a row of temporary houses, built by retainers to the troops; the green before these buildings was the scene of these pathetic recognitions, which I failed not to attend. The joy of even the happy mothers was overpowering and vented in tears; but not like the bitter tears of those who after long travel, found not what they sought. It was affecting to see the deep and silent sorrow of Indian women and of children who knew no other mothers and clung fondly to their bosoms, from whence they were not torn without the most piercing shrieks; while their own fond mothers were distressed beyond measure at the shyness and aversion with which these long lost objects of their love received their caresses. I shall never forget the grotesque

figures and wild looks of these young savages; nor the trembling haste with which their mothers arrayed them in the new clothes they had brought for them, as hoping that with the Indian dress they would throw off their habits and attachments. It was, in short, a scene impossible to describe but most affecting to behold."

FOOTNOTE—The county of Albany's bounds were described as follows in the Act of 1772: "On the South and on the West Side of Hudson's River, by the County of Ulster. . . . . On the West by Delaware River and the West Branch thereof, as far up as a certain small lake called Utsayantho (now in Schoharie County); and thence by a line north twenty-five degrees east until it be intersected by a West line drawn from the northwest corner of the old Schoharie patent; thence east to the northeast corner of the said Schoharie patent; thence to the northwest corner of the township of Duanesburgh; thence along the north bounds thereof to the northeast corner of the same; thence on the same course with the said bounds of Duanesburgh to the Mohawk River; thence North until it intersects a West line drawn from Fort George near Lake George; thence East until it intersects a North line drawn from that, nigh (the) Falls on Hudson's River, which lays next above Fort Edward; thence South to the said Falls; thence along the East Bank of Hudson's River to a certain creek called Stoney Creek (opposite Fort Miller); thence east Five Hundred and ten chains; thence South to the North bank of Batten Creek (Battenkill); thence up along the North bank of said creek until the said creek intersects the south bounds of Prince Town (now in Vermont); thence along the same to the southeast corner thereof, thence East to the west bounds of the County of Cumberland (in Vermont); thence Southerly and Easterly along the West and South bounds thereof to Connecticut River; thence along the said river to the North bounds of the Colonie of Connecticut; thence along the North and West bounds of the same to the County of Dutchess; thence along the North bounds of the said County of Dutchess to Hudson's river; and thence by a straight line to the Northeast corner of the County of Ulster, on Hudson's River."

The boundaries to the east came under dispute during the conflict over the New Hampshire grants. No more county line revisions were made until after the Revolution.

Tryon County as first formed embraced all the State west of Albany County bounds as set forth above; *i. e.*, west of Delaware River and a line extending north through Schoharie, and along the east lines of present Montgomery, Fulton and Hamilton counties, continuing in a straight line to Canada. (Consult chapters on Montgomery and Fulton counties.)

CHAPTER XV

The Revolution: the Die Is Cast

The Soil of Free America—The King Infringes Colonial Rights—Tryon Committee Protests Taxation Without Consent—Albany City and County Committees of Safety Formed by Patriots—Battle of Lexington—Militia Companies Organized—Whig vs. Tory—Philip Schuyler Made a Major-General—First Shot of Revolution in Mohawk Valley at Johnstown—Last Indian Conference at Albany—Guy Johnson Leaves the Valley—Sir John Johnson Paroled, Flees, Lady Johnson Seized—Mayor Cuyler of Albany Arrested as Tory—Declaration of Independence Read—Forts Repaired—General Herkimer Commissioned.

The passing of Sir William Johnson, in 1774, marked also the passing of an age. Up to this time, since the beginning, Americans had been accustomed to consider themselves subjects of a remote Power. While they had pioneered, they had suffered abysmal neglect from their royal mentors. Constantly they were reminded of the prerogatives of the Crown and of the governors who stood as emissaries of this high and mighty power.

Now a new idea—revolutionary in world history it was to be—came to the fore. Sir William Johnson sensed its approach, and though democratically inclined, regretted the clash he saw would ensue between the Colonists and imperial authority.

What was it that gave to the people on this soil their idea of liberty? The question has been asked many times, and with reason. Up to the time of the American Revolution no such thing as individual independence had been attained on a national basis. Nowhere in Europe had such a democracy risen; even in England, representation was restricted in certain respects. For the most part, Europe was still drenched in feudalism, the lord having small regard for the servant and the latter not disposed to question his lot. Those in America who spoke of the "common man" and his "inherent rights" had to go a long way back in history to find a parallel; but even in the Athenian state there had been no complete democracy.

Little in the past experience of the American Colonies had indicated that in the year 1775 they were prepared to go crusading for human freedom. Here had assembled from all parts of Europe a congeries of races, of persons having diverse interests, habits and



J. Fenimore Cooper Monument

inclinations. Not many of them were interested in those beyond their own circle; many were handicapped by the barrier of language and could not readily converse with their neighbors over the borders in another province.

Holland, Belgium, England, France, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Ireland, and other lands had furnished contingents to settle in the New World. They had come, many of them, to escape relig-

ious persecutions, to develop their own bent for trade, or provide homes for the improvement of their families. Having arrived, they settled down to their own pursuits, became intensely involved in their particular affairs, and responded but indifferently to causes which affected the Colonies at large. Even when the French and Indians threatened to drive them all into the sea, the only Colonies which really felt concern were those whose borders were exposed to the enemy and would feel the brunt of the attack.

The Albany Congress of 1754 was the first tangible signal that the new idea of unity was developing—the first clew to the notion that chronically divergent Colonies could join hands in general welfare. The British Government should have taken warning. Yet it did not appreciate the trend that was developing. There was coming into being a realization on the part of all the Colonists that in their new land they had something that was different from anything else in the world. They occupied a land of unlimited resources, were remote from the King, could in a pinch fight off their enemies. They could think and act independently, as indeed they had to do in braving pioneer perils. When they stopped to think of it, there was no reason why they should continue to be under the restraint of a government situated far away on the other side of the sea; especially when that government, as all European governments so religiously did, sought to oppress and regiment their people under the theory that the Crown possessed divine right to rule.

The idea that they might be able to develop a country of their own was not realized all at once among the Colonists. They had to go step by step, departing gradually from the familiar paths. As subjects of the King they would continue to regard royal rule with respect. But as Americans they did not intend to be trampled upon or mistreated. They had performed their share of sacrifice of property and life in maintaining the Colonies and their homes. They deserved a better rôle than that merely of subjects having no voice in the shaping of laws that fixed taxes upon them. Why, for instance, should they be called "colonists" and thus distinguished from the residents of England, although they, too, had become an important part of the British realm?

But there was another element in the idea that came bursting like a bombshell all through the Colonies even before the shots were fired on Lexington Green in April, 1775. The people who then inhabited the Colonies were not "newcomers" for the most part. Many of the Dutch families on the Hudson and the Mohawk could trace their

ancestry back a century and more. The Palatines had been in these valleys fifty years, and had children of the third generation in America. So also the Huguenots, and many others. The English had been present in this region since 1664, at least. So they, too, had acquired American roots. The longer they had lived, worked and progressed in this land, the greater their regard for it. They saw its immense possibilities; found it a good "provider"; and in consequence they had fought for it, enduring the most arduous toil and hardships in order to remain firmly in the place they had chosen. In short, what had happened, what the British ministry totally failed to see, was the rise of a fierce determination among the Colonists to lead their own lives and pursue their own destinies, because they had acquired that great and valued thing, a love of country. For a long time they were tolerant of the devices of imperial rule. When the royal authority stepped beyond the bounds they had set, however, they would call a halt. Not even the American Colonists themselves, in 1775, fully appreciated how far they had advanced toward a higher goal. But it has been discoverable since, and out of it has come the freest, most humane government on earth.

In the forging of the great events by which the Nation was founded, the Capital Region played a matchless part. It is its ever-lasting pride that the Mohawk, Hudson, Schoharie and Cherry valleys and adjacent localities wrought out on their soil and by the sufferings of their own people the critical victories which led to the establishment of American Union. No area in the Colonies underwent such fierces trials or tragic loss; none contributed more in proportion to the common cause.

Independence was not lightly won. These valleys were decimated literally by fire and sword. Redcoats, "blue-eyed" Indians, the Tory raiders, the Royal Greens, and the merciless savages contributed to the awful slaughter and destruction. In the Mohawk Valley scarcely a house was left standing west of Schenectady except fortified dwellings which the invaders sedulously avoided. Fields of wheat and other crops were burned in giant pyres which laid clouds of smoke for fifty miles over the valley. Barns, horses, sheep, cattle, farm implements, all were destroyed by the rapacious raiders. Women and children attacked in their homes were killed and scalped or carried away captive; and those who survived or were set free hovered in tiny forts while brave husbands, sons or brothers fought to save them from a terrible fate. Schenectady and Albany became refuge points. In the Schoharie Valley fields and hundreds of homes were burned,

settlers attacked and many spirited away, or slain. Cherry Valley was left a smoldering ruin after a massacre of unbelievable atrocity. It was estimated, in 1781, when the woe was almost ended, that a third of the Mohawk Valley population had been lost by slaughter, capture or desertion. Of the Tryon County militia of two thousand five hundred only eight hundred were left. West of Schenectady more than one thousand buildings had been burned.

Such was part of the rôle that was played here. While the blows were showered upon the poorly defended settlements, other heroic work was being done by the militia and Continental troops at the crucial battles of Fort Stanwix, Oriskany, Fort Edward, the Flockey, Walloomsac and Saratoga. North of Albany the farms were burned to a crisp, the waving fields of wheat destroyed under a "scorched earth" policy to prevent them falling to the enemy. Burgoyne planned to have his Christmas dinner in Albany, and had he done so, the War of Independence might never have been won.

It is in this area that the tide was turned that meant the difference between defeat and victory. And how narrowly that victory was won remains one of the miracles of history. The battle, however, was not alone on the firing line or the exposed frontiers. It was fought in every community, large and small, between those who wanted freedom and those who favored the Crown. Whig *vs.* Tory resulted in many cruelties. Tories ("cowboys") infested the countryside along the Hudson, conducting a guerrilla warfare, when they were not endeavoring by subtler means to weaken the morale of the patriots. In Albany the Tory mayor was arrested and sent to jail in Connecticut. In Schoharie Valley, Captain Mann, a militia officer, was similarly dealt with. In the Mohawk Valley, Johnstown was a nest of Toryism, due to the influence of Sir John Johnson, who inherited Sir William's title, and Guy, the nephew of the famous Indian commissioner. Even General Nicholas Herkimer's brother went over to the enemy. Thus families were split by the war, and friends were sundered. How little appreciated, it now seems, were those immense sacrifices. How deeply those people felt, how much they suffered to establish freedom from intolerable foreign interference!

This was the proving ground of American liberty. Many of the tiny little forts and strongholds that dotted the valleys in their time of greatest peril can still be seen. Noble General Herkimer's residence still rises beside the Mohawk—the place where he died after his heroism at Oriskany—that bloodiest battle that checked St. Leger's drive down to Albany. At Van Schaick Island, Cohoes, on the south

shore of the Mohawk, remain vestiges of the entrenchments hard-pressed General Schuyler threw up as he desperately prepared to make a last stand to save Albany. A trying hour that was for him, when his militia melted away like snowflakes before Burgoyne's advance. But how steadfastly he remained at his post! How relieved Albany must have been when Colonel Nicholas Van Rensselaer came riding into town bearing the message, "Burgoyne is taken!"

The actual causes instigating the beginning of combat in the Revolution have often been cited. The Stamp Act, the Townshend Acts, and other pieces of legislation which became provocative are familiar enough. It is not as often noted that the primary reason for the British attempt to levy new taxes on the Colonies was for the support of the royal troops His Majesty decided should hereafter be kept in America. These troops, as has been noted, were sent over in the great final drive which ended the French régime in Canada. Instead of withdrawing the regiments at the war's close, the ministry decided to keep them on. There were Indians to be mopped up in the western districts; there was a bare possibility France would attempt reprisals for the loss of her American dominion. There was another reason, too, very persuasive from the Crown point of view. Britain had incurred a vast debt of one hundred and forty million pounds during the French War, a large part of which had been spent directly in aid of American Colonies. The British treasury needed support. The preservation of the Colonies should have made them grateful to the home government. Therefore, it was logical the Colonies should assume the cost of this protection without quibbling. The government would not be severe. The troops to be retained in America would be supported by a tax only sufficient to pay their maintenance cost.

The decision to keep ten thousand troops as a standing army was reached in 1762, while the Colonies were yet jubilant over the final removal of the ancient Bourbon enemy from their soil. New York and Boston were the chief concentrations. The Colonial Assemblies were asked for initial appropriations to supply food and under the Mutiny Act citizens were required to billet soldiers in houses, barns, or other available buildings. Officers, of course, fared better. The Assemblies did not like the idea of a standing army in peace time any better than did Americans of a later day. The soldiers were not an especially prepossessing lot, frequently became embroiled with the inhabitants, and clashes became recurrent. Citizens complained the soldiers insulted them, and vice versa. In 1770 occurred the Boston "massacre," when a crowd of townsmen engaged in a mêlée with troops and several persons were killed.

Back in 1708 the New York Assembly had adopted a significant resolution:

> "*Resolved,* that the imposing and levying of any monies upon any of her Majesty's subjects of this colony under any pretense or color whatever without consent in General Assembly is a grievance and a violation of the people's property."

One of the privileges of the "Charter of Liberties" granted in Governor Dongan's time (1683) to the Province had been freedom from taxation without consent of the representatives in Assembly, as well as freedom from quartering of troops, and from martial law. King William had reaffirmed these rights in 1691, and the Act of 1708 was a further reminder to the royal governors to keep hands off. The Governor and the Provincial Council, however, sat above the Assembly as a House of Lords and ruler, having veto power, and attempted to dictate policies. The governors often complained that the Assemblies held too tight a rein on the public purse for their own good. The Colonists remained alert to the principle that their consent to taxation was a constitutional right.

The British Government, however, viewing its American dominions imperially, considered them as Colonial subjects rather than full members of the Empire, and therefore not entitled to a voice in the determinations affecting general affairs. The ministry proceeded to legislate upon Colonial commerce and manufactures. The passage of the Stamp Act in 1765 by Parliament to provide revenue for the stationing of troops, which was proper from the British viewpoint, was quite the contrary in the minds of the Colonists, who saw clearly an invasion of their rights. They did not want the troops, since peace was restored; they were positively averse to Parliament overriding their long established privileges. The cruel blow came when Parliament, in 1766, by statute, declared that "the colonies and plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be subordinate unto and dependent upon the Imperial Crown and Parliament of Great Britain."

So the Colonists found the heavy hand of royal rule laid upon them, their freedom of action destroyed. The resentment was so great that Sons of Liberty sprang up in New York and Albany, and in the latter place, as was noted, the home of Postmaster Van Schaick was raided and his sleigh burned. Legal business came to a halt, since no one would use the required stamps. The ministry appeared totally surprised by the turn of events, indicating how remote it was from

the pulse of opinion on this side of the water. But the King's counselors were only momentarily disturbed. William Pitt championed the Colonies in Parliament, asserting complete support of their theory of taxation under representation only. Exclaimed Pitt, in 1766: "Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to makes slaves of the rest."

Unusual words, these, especially the application of the term "slaves" to the American provincials. They had only begun to speak that language themselves. It will always be an interesting subject of speculation how much of the notion of freedom they obtained from the aborigines, those bold, brave people of the forest, who loved to proclaim, as Garangula did to the Governor of France: "We are free born and we will live and die so!" In the land where individuals had to exert themselves against all manner of foes, the independent spirit was bound to rise and chains which governments sought to fasten about them became increasingly odious. Such was the native air of this continent. The vast expanse of America, its remoteness from Europe, the self-reliance which the Colonists developed were fertile soil for the unfoldment of the ideas that broke as a storm at the outset of the Revolution. Albany itself, though located in the midst of a feudal patroonship, had been empowered since 1686 to create free citizens by act of its mayor and aldermen, a democratic practice that could scarcely fail to bring a trail of effects.

It has to be recalled, too, that the inhabitants of the Colonies were sons, daughters, or the grandsons and granddaughters of pioneers. Some were four generations removed from the emigrating sires. The Dutch in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys traced back in some cases more than 125 years, mostly well over a century, as did the English, who had been to some extent in the region since 1664. Scotch, Irish, Huguenots, French, Scandinavians also had scattered pioneers long seated on the land. The largest immigration prior to the Revolution had been the Palatines; but they had been settled on the Hudson since 1709 and in the Mohawk Valley since the 1720s. General Nicholas Herkimer, who became the famous leader of the Mohawk Valley militia, was a native son of New York, born in his father's log cabin east of Fort Herkimer church in 1728. Philip Schuyler, the Revolutionary commander of the Northern Department, was a descendant of Peter Schuyler, Albany's first mayor. The newest arrivals in the region were the settlers Sir William Johnson had located three miles from Johnson Hall in what became Johnstown. These were Scotch-

Irish emigrants, bodyguards for Sir John and Guy Johnson in the opening Revolutionary struggle, wholly devoted to the royal interest.

Properly, then, these Colonials of New York had a right to feel that they were established British subjects, entitled to better treatment than that of subordinate "second cousins." But the Stamp Act failure did not daunt the home government. It adopted the Townshend Acts, which included the iniquitous tax on tea. The Boston Tea Party of 1773 followed, when the tea was dumped into the harbor by a band of "Indians." At New York harbor, ships with tea were not allowed to land, and there were public disorders.

General Gage, arriving as the new Massachusetts Governor, in May, 1774, suggested to the ministry that a show of force was needed to bring the recalcitrant Colonies to their senses. Acting on this bad advice, troops were assembled to prevent mob action. On June 1, the Port of Boston was closed. Burly redcoats took possession of the docks. Trade was shut off. Virtual military rule was established. Nothing could have whetted the American temper more. The effect was immediate. Massachusetts promptly voted to raise twelve thousand troops of her own to resist such high-handed coercion, and joined with Virginia in urging the Colonies to form committees and send delegates to a Continental Congress to be held in Philadelphia. It was evident, they said, that the King was trying to force the taxes upon them at the point of a bayonet. There could be only one answer to that.

And this was the real beginning of the American Revolution. The speed with which the word spread through the Colonies that resistance must be made to the arbitrary acts of the Crown reveals the seething current of public opinion. Considering that news traveled slowly in those days (it took ten days for word of the battle of Lexington to reach Albany in 1775) the alarm was quickly taken up. The tea riots in New York were followed by the proroguing of the Assembly by the royal Governor, adding much fuel to the popular indignation.

By August, 1774, the first Committees of Correspondence and Safety had been organized in Albany and Tryon counties to name delegates to the Philadelphia Congress. And with this step the parting of the ways began. In each community, those who saw eye to eye with the Colonies fell into one group, and those who clung to Crown the other. The committees themselves were no more at first than civic bodies protesting against unjust legislation. They evolved into the groups which after the bloodshed at Lexington went to the

people for power and were placed by vote in control of the entire government of their communities, having unlimited authority.

The times became increasingly exciting. Revealing the strong sense of resentment was the action of the Palatine District Committee of Correspondence of Tryon County, which met August 24, 1774, at the home of Adam Loucks, Stone Arabia, to name its delegates to the First Continental Congress. Here, almost in the shadow of Johnson Hall, center of royal prestige in the upper part of the Province, and within six weeks of the death of Sir William himself, a patriot group came into being with a clear cut, ringing assertion in defense of "constitutional rights" of the Colonists and a demand for justice from the King.

Whether such a thing could have happened with Sir William alive is a question, since his position in the valley, especially through control of the Indians, had been unimpeachable. While he lived he could and did control his neighbors. Nicholas Herkimer and others who became outstanding patriots were among his familiar friends. But his death changed the picture. His son, Sir John Johnson, never well liked by the people, was filled with royal importance and convinced that all patriots were wrong. Guy Johnson inherited the superintendency of Indian affairs. He, too, lacked the popular touch that Sir William had possessed.

The declaration by the Palatine District is one of the milestones in the history of the region. Here a group of farmers, on a far frontier, exposed to all manner of dangers and under the nose of the powerful Tory crew at Johnson Hall, prepared their first utterance on behalf of freedom. They still temporized in considering themselves loyal subjects of the King. But they made no mistake about where they stood as between the King and the Colonies. Nothing could be more revelatory of the attitude of mind that was running through these settlements. If it seems surprising that the closing of a seaport 250 miles to the east should be of so much concern to a group of Mohawk Valley farmers on the rim of the forest, it can only be concluded that the feeling for liberty was much more widespread than even the Colonists realized.

As these words marked the beginning of the great schism in the Mohawk Valley where such suffering ensued, the Palatine District Committee resolutions are cited herewith. It is worthy of note that the erection of Tryon County, in 1772, the first to be split from Albany County, had resulted in the setting up of districts in each of the counties. These districts had their own representatives in the

General Assembly and hence were able to speak appropriately of their voice in Colonial government. In Tryon County there were the Palatine, Mohawk, Canajoharie, German Flats and Kingsland districts. Albany County had nineteen or twenty districts. The district units,



The Hunter and His Dog, Cooperstown

as quickly became apparent, greatly facilitated the forming of local committees in the months ahead.

The Palatine resolutions were as follows:

"County of Tryon:

"Whereas, the British Parliament has lately passed an Act for raising a Revenue in America without the Consent of

Our Representative to abridging the Liberties and privileges of the American Colonies, and therefore blocking up the Port of Boston, the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Palatine District in the County of Tryon aforesaid, looking with Concern and heartfull sorrow on these allarming and calamitous Conditions, Do meet this 27th day of August, 1774 on that purpose at the house of Adam Loucks Esqr at Stonearabia, and Concluded the Resolves following: Vizt.

"I) That King George the Third is Lawful and Rightful Lord and Sovereign of Great Britain and the Dominions thereto belonging, and that as part of his Dominions We hereby testify that We will bear true Faith and Allegiance unto him, and that we Will with our Lives and Fortunes support and maintain him upon the Throne of his Ancestors and the just Dependence of these his Colonies upon the Crown of Great Britain—

"II) That we think and consider it is our greatest Happiness to be governed by the Laws of Great Britain and that with Cheerfulness We will always pay Submission thereunto, as far as we consistently can, with the Security of the Constitutional Rights and Liberties of English subjects, which are so sacred, that we cannot permit the same to be violated.—

"III) That we think it is our undeniable Privilege to be taxed only with our own Consent given by ourselves (or by our Representative). That Taxes otherwise laid and exacted are unjust and unconstitutional. That the Late Acts of Parliament declarative of their Right of laying internal Taxes on the American Colonies are obvious Incroachment in the Rights and Liberties of the British Subjects in America.—

"IV) That the Act for blocking up the Port of Boston is oppressive and arbitrary, injurious in its principles and particularly oppressive to the Inhabitants of Boston, who we consider as Bretheren suffering in the Common Cause.

"V) That We will unite and join with the different districts of this County in giving whatever Relief it is in our power to the poor distressed Inhabitants of Boston, and that we will join and unite with our Bretheren of the Rest of this Colony in anything tending to support and defend our Rights and Liberties.—

"VI) That we think the sending of Delegates from the different Colonies to a general Continental Congress is a Salutary Measure, and absolutely necessary at this alarming Crisis, and that we intirely approve of the five Gentlemen chosen delegates for this Colony by our own choosing the same persons to represent this Colony at the Congress.

"VII) That We hereby engage faithfully to abide by and adhere to such Restrictions and Regulations as shall be made and agreed upon by the said Congress.—

"VIII) That we conceive it necessary that there be appointed a standing Committee of this County to correspond with the Committees of N. York and Albany and we do hereby appoint

Christopher P. Yates
John Paris
John Frey &
Andrew Finck Junr

who together with persons to be appointed by the other Districts of this County shall compose a Committee of Correspondence to convey the sentiments of this County in a sett of Resolves to New York—

"IX) It is voted by this meeting, that Copies of the proceedings of this Day Certified by the chairman be transmitted to the Supervisors of the different Districts of this County. —And we recommend it to the inhabitants of the said Districts to appoint persons to compose also a Committee of Correspondence. . . . . "

Such was the first utterance of the new order in Tryon County. The committee thus initiated was soon to be charged with grave duties in the entire district west of Schenectady, in behalf of patriot aims. Nor was it long in colliding with Toryism in its most malignant form.

The delegates to the Continental Congress whom the Tryon committee approved were those already named by the New York County group, and endorsed by Albany County committee. These were: James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low and John Alsop. Duane was the founder of Duanesburg, near Schenectady, where a manorial settlement had been located in 1765 on the sixty thousand acres patented to him. Perpetual leaseholds were granted at the rate of $15 a year for each one hundred acres. Duane built Christ Church in a plat designed to be the center of the village and is

buried beneath it. He was a former mayor of New York. John Jay became the State's first Chief Justice and Governor. Livingston, born in Albany, became a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

In September, delegates from twelve Colonies met at Philadelphia, the first Continental Congress of the Revolutionary period. It was the first real expression of unity since the Albany Congress twenty years earlier.

That many of the leaders did not appreciate the trend of events, feeling the whole affair might be patched up, was indicated by Franklin's statement in August, 1774, to Lord Chatham, while in London. Franklin said he "never had heard in any conversation from any persons, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation or hint that such a thing would be advantageous for America." But Franklin had been in London ten years and may not have felt the rapidity of the drift. Yet what must his thoughts have been in July, 1776 (probably actually in August) when with Stephen Hopkins he signed the famous Declaration? Just twenty-one years before they had struggled to bring forth a Plan of Union at Albany, now they were staking their lives to obtain it. Was it a wonder that in 1754 a plan which rested on royal approval should have been rejected since even at that time it did not give enough voice to the people in controlling their affairs? Some in England besides Pitt appreciated what was going on, however. Thomas Paine emigrated to the Colonies in 1774 to throw himself valiantly into the crusade to bring about the partition of America from the Mother Country. His pamphlet, "Common Sense," exerted a far-reaching effect in shaping Colonial opinion.

The formation of the Albany Committee of Safety, begun in 1774 with surreptitious meetings at homes of members, resulted in March, 1775, in an election at Cartwright's Tavern of the following delegates to the Provincial Congress in New York City: Colonel Philip Schuyler, Abraham Yates, Jr., Colonel Abraham Ten Broeck, Walter Livingston and Colonel Peter R. Livingston. Colonel Schuyler (later the general) was named a delegate to the Second Continental Congress.

On the news which reached Albany late in April, 1775, that the blood of Colonists had been shed in the battle of Lexington, the city committee met at John Lansing's Inn and called a mass meeting for May first. The townspeople were summoned by drum beat by Lucas Cassidy. At this meeting the force of the patriot movement was fully revealed. These questions were submitted to the inhabitants, who

assembled at the Market House in the middle of Broadway north of the Dutch Church:

> "Are you willing to coöperate with our Bretheren in New York and the several Colonies on the Continent in their oppositition to the Ministerial Plan now prosecuting against us?
>
> "Are you willing to appoint Persons to be Conjointly with others appointed by the Several Districts in the County a Committee of Safety, Protection and Correspondence with full power to Transact all such matters as they shall conceive may tend to the weal of the American cause?
>
> "If yea, who are the Persons you chuse to appoint?"

The propositions were enthusiastically voted and the city Committee of Safety was then constituted of the following: Jacob C. Ten Eyck, Henry I. Bogert, Peter Silvester, Henry Wendell, Volckert P. Douw, John Bay, Gysbert Marselis, First Ward; John R. Bleecker, Jacob Lansing, Jr., Jacob Cuyler, Henry Bleecker, Robert Yates, Stephen DeLancey, and Abraham Cuyler, Second Ward; John H. Ten Eyck, Abraham Ten Broeck, Gerrit Lansing, Jr., Anthony E. Bratt, Samuel Stringer, Abraham Yates, Jr., and Cornelis Van Santvoordt, Third Ward.

Resolutions were adopted and sent to the Boston committee lamenting "the mournful event which has caused the Blood of our Bretheren in the Massachusetts Bay to flow."

> "We feel [said they] that satisfaction which every honest American must experience at the glorious stand you have made. We have an additional satisfaction from the consequences which we trust will (follow) uniting every American in Sentiments and Bonds which we hope will be indissoluble to our Enemies. . . . . We have the fullest confidence that every District in this extensive County will follow our Example. . . . . Be assured Gentlemen that nothing on our Parts will be wanting to evince that we are deeply impressed with a sense of the necessity of Unanimity and that we mean to Cooperate with you in this arduous struggle for Liberty to the utmost of our Power."

Thus Albany, which had seen so much frontier hardship and peril, and had watched with its own eyes the struggling idea of union at the Congress in its old Stadt Huys two decades before, joined the demand

that now swept the Colonies for a complete union of effort. Forthwith five companies of militia were enrolled in the city.

On May 10, 1775, on the day news arrived of the taking of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys—the inhabitants of Albany city and county formed a General Association uniting themselves as freemen against the oppression of the Crown. It was significant that John Barclay, an ordinary citizen of Albany, was elected chairman of this historic group of citizens. Barclay also became chairman of the Committee of Safety during the greater part of its service, and in 1778 by appointment of the first Governor of the State of New York became Albany's first mayor under Independence.

The Articles of Association speak the attitude of the entire county, which stretched from Ulster and Dutchess to Lake George, west to Tryon County and east to the uncertain bounds of Massachusetts and the New Hampshire grants. The compact containing a notable declaration, "never to become slaves," was as follows:

> "A General Association agreed to and subscribed by the Members of the Several Committes of the City and County of Albany.
>
> "Persuaded that the Salvation of the Rights and Liberties of America depends under God on the firm Union of its Inhabitants in a vigorous prosecution of the Measures necessary for its Safety; and convinced of the necessity of preventing Anarchy and Confusion which attend a Dissolution of the Powers of Government, We, the Freemen, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the City and County of Albany, being greatly alarmed at the avowed Design of the Ministry to raise a Revenue in America; and shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the Massachusetts Bay, Do in the most Solemn Manner resolve never to become Slaves; and do associate under all the Ties of Religion, Honor and Love to our Country, to adopt and endeavor to carry into Execution whatever Measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention for the purpose of preserving our Constitution and opposing the Execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive Acts of the British Parliament until a Reconciliation between Great Britain and America on Constitutional Principles (which we most ardently desire) can be obtained; And that we will in all things fol-

> low the Advice of our General Committee respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of Peace and good order and the safety of Individuals and private Property."

The entry appears in the Minute Book of the Albany Committee of Correspondence and Safety with the additional note:

> "We solemnly engage under all the Ties held sacred amongst mankind at the risk of our lives and fortunes to defend by Arms the United American Colonies against the hostile attempts of the British fleet and armies until the unhappy controversy between the two countries shall be settled."

The latter declaration appears to have been made by the committeemen present at the initial signing of the general agreement. Afterward the articles of association were taken to each district of the county and signed separately. The Coxsackie district freeholders signed the articles on May 17, 1775. The original copy of this document, one of the few preserved, is (1941) in custody of the Albany Institute of History and Art. The parchment, a neat handwritten copy of the agreement, reveals the signing by about two hundred members of the Coxsackie district. It is known as the "Coxsackie Declaration of Independence." Heading the list is the name of the Rev. John Schuneman, famed pastor of the Catskill, Kaatsbaan and Coxsackie churches in the Revolutionary period. Of his great bravery in conducting his services at these scattered settlements throughout the war, going armed through the woods filled with Tory marauders, more will be told. He was a conspicuous patriot of that vicinity.

Excitement ran high on that eventful May tenth, when the first Committee of Safety meeting appears to have been conducted for the entire county of Albany. Abraham Yates was chairman. The session was conducted in the old Stadt Huys, or city hall, on Broadway. Representatives of the various districts attending were:

Albany—Jacob C. Ten Eyck, Henry E. Bratt, Henry Bleecker, Jacob Cuyler, Henry Wendell, Cornelius Van Santvoordt, Abraham Cuyler, John Bay, Peter Silvester, Colonel Ten Broeck, Volckert P. Douw, John R. Bleecker, Robert Yates, Gysbert Marselis, John H. Ten Eyck, Gerrit Lansing, Jr., Hendrick Bogert, and Doctor Samuel Stringer.

District of Groote Imbocht (Catskill)—Johan Van Orden, David Abeel.

Sinkaik and Hoosic District—Daniel B. Bratt, John Wood, Elmer Palmer.

Bennington District—Simon Hatheway, Ebenezer Wood, Elijah Dewey, Matthew Brush, Moses Robinson, Benjamin Wemple, Samuel Robinson.

Corporation of Cambridge—Thomas Morrison, Joseph Wells, John Blair, John Younglove, Edward Rigg, James Ashton, James Younglove, Phineas Whiteside.

Manor of Livingston—Peter R. Livingston, Walter Livingston, Henry Beekman Livingston, Samuel Ten Broeck, Dirck Jensen.

Schaghticoke District—Carol H. Toll, John J. Bleecker, Ignes Kipp, Dirck Van Veghten, John W. Groesbeck, Harmen Quackenboss, Michael Vook, Benjamin Hicks.

Kingsland District—Nathaniel Culver, Asa Douglass, Matthew Edgate, Esq.

German Camp—John Kortz, Jr., Philip Rockefeller.

Cambridge District—Jeremiah Clarke, John Mallinton, Simeon Covill.

Coxsackie and Katskill District—Hendrick Van Bergen, Philip Conine, James Barker, Mathias Van Loon, Henry Oothout.

Schoharie and Duanesburg District—Peter Vrooman, Jacob Zimmer, Daniel Budd, Peter W. Zielen, Thomas Ackerson, Johannes Ball.

Claverack District—Peter Van Ness, Robert Van Rensselaer, Peter Cantine, Richard Esselstyne, Stephen Hogeboom.

Kinderhook District—Peter S. Van Aelstyne, Matthew Goes, Jr., Henry Van Schaick, Peter Vossburgh.

Manor of Rensselaerwyck—John Van Rensselaer, William Van Rensselaer, Francis Nicoll, Jochim Staats, Stephen J. Schuyler, Gerrit C. Vanden Bergh, Henry Quackenbush, Jacob Lansing, Lucas Van Veghten, Bastian T. Visscher, Abraham J. Lansing, Anthony Van Schaick, Volckert Veeder, Teunis Slingerlandt, John H. Beeckman, Jacob C. Schermerhorn, Frederick Bergen, Peter Schuyler, Henry Oothoudt, Coenraedt Ten Eyck, Jacob T. Lansingh, Joseph Anderson.

Saratoga District—Colonel Schuyler, John McCrae, Dirk Swart, John Taylor, Daniel Dickinson, John Fish, Cornelius Vanden Bergh.

Schenectady District—Rynier Mynderse, Henry Glen, Christopher Yates, James Wilson, John Roseboom, Harmanus Wendell, Abraham Oothoudt, Hugh Mitchell, Cornelius Cuyler, Jacobus Teller.

The names afford a cross section of the population of the time. Each of the districts formed its own sub-committee under a district chairman. Johannes Ball was the chairman in Schoharie; Christopher Yates, Rynier Mynderse, Derick Van Ingen and Abraham Fonda served as chairmen in Schenectady during 1775, 1776 and 1777. Abraham Yates and Jacob Lansing served at times as Albany chairmen in that period.

On June 10, 1775, Philip Schuyler, of Albany, was appointed a major-general of the Continental Army of the United States. He rode from New York to take command of the Northern Department. He was the third major-general to be commissioned. Washington, with whom he formed a close friendship while serving in the Congress, rode to New England to take command of the Continental Army.

Governor Tryon, of New York, reported to the Earl of Dartmouth in July, 1775: "The general revolt that has taken place in the Colonies has put his Majesty's civil Governors in the most degraded situation. . . . . The communications through the Province and I understand through the Continent are stopt. Every traveller must have Pass from some Committee or some Congress." It was not long before he was asking to be relieved of his embarrassing post. The Governor in a report on the condition of the Province in 1774 gave the population as 182,251. The Provincial militia consisted of thirty-two thousand troops, an Act having been passed requiring every man from sixteen to fifty years, with few exceptions, to enlist himself with a commander of foot or horse in his local community for service, and to do drill duty at least twice a year. New enlistments and organizations were made, however, for the Revolution.

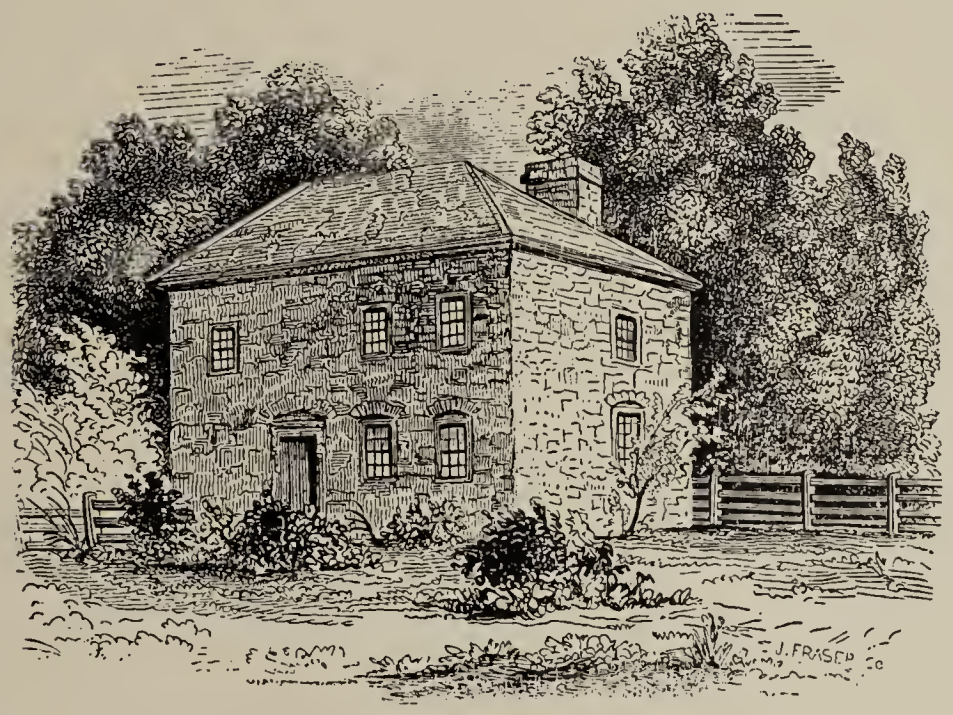
Regarding the fortifications of the Province, the Governor wrote that New York had a fort at the entrance of the East River with one hundred pieces of ordnance. "Albany and Schenectady are defended by Forts," he stated, "and both places incircled by large Pickets or Stockades, with Blockhouses at proper Distances from each others, but which since the peace have been suffered to go to Decay and are now totally out of Repair."

Describing the Indian population, he said:

> "The Mohawks, the first in Rank of the Six National Confederacy tho' now much reduced in Number, originally occupied the Country Westward from Albany to the German Flatts, a space of about 90 miles, and had many Towns; but having at

different times been prevailed on to dispose of their Lands they have little property left, except to the Northward, and are reduced to Two Villages on the Mohawk River and a few families at Schoharie. The lower Mohawks are in Number about One Hundred and Eighty-Five and the Upper or those of Canajoharie Two Hundred and Twenty One making together Four Hundreed and Six; this nation hath always been Warm in their attachment to the English, and on this account suffered great loss during the late War.

"The Nation beyond and to the Eastward of the Mohawks is the Oneidas; the villages where they reside, including



Queen Anne's Parsonage, Fort Hunter, 1840

Onoaughquaga, are just beyond the Indian Line or Boundary established at Fort Stanwix in 1768, and their property within that Line except to the Northward has been sold—This Nation consists of at least Fifteen Hundred and are firmly attached to the English.

"The other Nations of that Confederacy and who live further beyond the Indian Line are the Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas and Tuscaroras and are Well Inclined to the British Interest. The whole Six Nations consist of about Two Thousand Fighting Men, and their number of Souls according to their latest Returns are at least Ten Thousand; the Seneca Nation amounting alone to one half that number."

The summary reveals what peril awaited the Mohawk and Schoharie Valley settlers once the Indians had been allied with the British cause. Nor was it long before raiding bands of five hundred to one thousand savages were running through the settlements with firebrands and tomahawks.

An attempt to make the peace with the tribesmen was one of the first acts of Congress. Before this, however, turmoil had broken out in the vicinity of Johnstown.

In the spring of 1775 the Tryon County Grand Jury under the influence of Sir John Johnson and Colonel John Butler, who was Chief Justice of the King's Court, adopted a presentment denouncing the measures adopted at the Continental Congress the preceding fall in protest against the blockade in Boston and other infringements of Colonial rights. The answer of the Palatine committee was to form a general association of freemen of the county, similar to that effected in Albany County. A declaration was drawn up which was subsequently ratified at meetings in the various other districts, one of which was at Cherry Valley. It read as follows:

> "Whereas the Grand Jury of this County and a Number of the Magistrates have signed a Declaration declaring their Disapprobation of the just Opposition made by the Colonies of the oppressive and arbitrary Acts of the British Parliament, the purport of which is evidently to entail slavery on America. And as the said Declaration may in some measures be looked upon as the Sense of the County in General, if the same be passed over in Silence:—We the Subscribers, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Said County, inspired with a sincere Love for our Country and deeply interested in the Common Cause, Do Solemnly Declare our Fixed Attachment to and entire Approbation of the proceedings of the Grand Continental Congress held at Philadelphia last Fall, and that We will strictly adhere and abide by the same. We do also solemnly declare and express our Confidence in the Wisdom and Integrity of the present Continental Congress, and that We will support the same to the utmost of our power, and that we will Religiously and inviolably observe the Regulations and proceedings of that August Body."

On May nineteenth the Palatine Committee had drawn up a summary of the situation existing in the valley which was sent to the committee at Albany. It read:

"We are so peculiarly circumstanced in this County relating to the present struggle for American Liberty that we cannot longer defer laying the Situation of this County before You—The District we represent has been foremost in avowing its attachment to Liberty and approving the Mode of Opposition adopted in America, and are now Signing an Association similar to what has been signed in other Counties in this Province. And we hope in a few days to have the pleasure to transmit it down for the press. The County being extensive, it takes considerable time, before the people who are favorable to the Cause can be got to sign, for we have caused copies of the Association to be dispersed in divers parts of the County.

"This County has for a series of Years been Ruled by one family, the different branches of which are still strenious (*sic*) in dissuading people from coming into Congressional Measures, and even have last Week at a numerous Meeting of the Mohawk District appeared with all their Dependants armed to oppose the people from considering their Grievances, their Number being so large and the people unarmed, struck Terror into most of them and they dispersed.—

"We are informed that Johnson Hall is fortified by placing a parcel of Swivels round; and that Col. Johnson has had part of this (regiment) under arms yesterday, no doubt with a design to prevent the friends of Liberty from publishing their attachment to the Cause to the World. Besides which we are told that about 150 Highlanders (Roman Catholicks) in and about Johnstown, are armed and ready to march upon like Occasion.—We have been informed that Col. Johnson has stopped two New-England men and searched them, being we suppose, suspicious that they came to solicit aid from us or the Indians, who we dread most—there being a current Report through the Country that they are to be made use of in keeping us in Awe.

"We recommend it strongly and Seriously to You to take in your Consideration whether any powder and ammunition ought to be permitted to be sent up this way, unless it is done under the Inspection of the Committee and consigned to the Committee here and for such particular Shopkeepers as we in our next shall acquaint you of.—We are determined to suffer none in our District to sell any, but such as we approve of and sign the association.—When anything particular comes to

our knowledge relating to the Indians, (whom we shall watch) or any other thing interesting, we shall take the earliest opportunity in communicating the same to you. And as we are a young County and remote from the Metropolis, We beg, you will give us all the Intelligence in your power.—

"We shall not be able to send down any Deputies to the Provincial Congress, as we cannot obtain the Sense of the County soon enough to make it worth our while to send any, but be assured that we are not the less attached to American Liberty, for we are determined, altho' few in Number, to let the World see, who are and who are not Such and to wipe off the indelible Disgrace brought on us by some of our Magistrates, who in general are considered by the Majority of the County as Enemies to their Country.

"In a word, Gentlemen, it is our fixed Resolution to support and carry into Execution everything Recommended by the Continental and provincial Congress and to be free or die. We shall always be glad of your advice and assistance in Matters of Importance."

The Albany committeemen, getting this letter, may have marveled at the clear expression of patriotism voiced by the people on the west, where the enemy could cause so much mischief.

Feeling ran high when the Scotch Highlanders, who had been provided with farms in the Johnstown vicinity by Sir William, were formed into two corps as bodyguards for Sir John and Colonel Guy Johnson, the Indian commissioner. Johnson Hall was fortified with several swivel guns, a measure which thoroughly aroused the valley settlers. Open clashes ensued, as a result of which the first shots were fired in the Mohawk Valley in the war, and these appear to have been the first in the State.

First of the incidents was in the vicinity of Caughnawaga (Fonda), when a group of patriots gathered at Abraham Veeder's house to erect a liberty pole. A company of armed Tories broke up the meeting, led by Sir John Johnson, Colonel Daniel Claus, Colonel Guy Johnson and Colonel John Butler. Colonel Guy Johnson made a heated speech against the American cause, during which a young patriot, Jacob Sammons, called him a liar. Johnson knocked down the youth with the butt of a whip and the Whigs beat a retreat. Later that spring, Colonel Frederick Visscher was training a Tryon County militia unit at Caughnawaga when Sir John came along with Lady

Johnson in a carriage. Johnson commanded Visscher to dismiss the troops, which the patriot refused to do.

The two struggled and Johnson threatened to shoot the officer. As the story is told, an Irish militiaman pointed his gun and ordered Sir John away, with the promise to "blow ye through" if he did not desist. Sir John got into his carriage and drove off. Soon after, Sheriff White, of Tryon County, arrested John Fonda, one of the patriots figuring in the pole raising and lodged him in the county jail. A Whig party rescued him and then went in search of White, who fired at them from a tavern window in Johnstown. The sheriff escaped, but was later captured and jailed at Albany.

There followed a joint meeting of the safety committees of the valley at which they protested against arming of troops by Guy Johnson and charged that travelers along the valley were being stopped by his men and questioned. They also asked Johnson to keep the Indians neutral in the controversy. Present at this meeting, which was at Werner Tygert's house in the Canajoharie District, were:

Palatine District—Isaac Paris, Christopher P. Yates.

Kingsland and German Flatts—Edward Wall, William Petry, John Frey, Andrew Finck, Jr., Andrew Reber, Peter Waggoner, Daniel McDougal, Jacob Clock, George Eker, Jr., Harmanus Van Slyck, Christopher W. Fox, Anthony V. Fechten.

Canajoharie District—Nicholas Herckimer, Ebenezer Cox, William Seeber, John Moore, Samuel Campbell, Samuel Clyde, Thomas Henry, John Pickert, John Petry, Marcus Petry, Augustinus Hess, Frederick Ahrendorf, George Wents, Michael Ittig, Frederick Fox, George Herkimer, Duncan McDougall, Frederick Hollmer (probably Helmer), John Franck.

Mohawk or Caughnawaga District—John Marlatt, John Bliven, Abraham V. Horn, Adam Fonda, Frederick Visher, Sampson Simons, William Schuyler, Volckert Vedder, James McMaster and Daniel Lane. The list was thus freely sprinkled with Dutch, German, Scotch and English names.

Marlatt and Moore were afterward elected delegates to the Provincial Congress.

At this meeting the following letter dealing with the causes of the Colonial revolt was written to Guy Johnson. Since it was addressed to one of the opposing side in the great controversy, and is a clear exposition of the patriot attitude, it has special significance. It read (original capitalizations omitted):

"According to the example of the counties in this and the neighboring colonies, the people of the district we represent have met in a peaceable manner to consider of the present dispute with the mother country and the colonies, signed a general association, and appointed us a committee to meet in order to consult the common safety of our rights and liberties, which are infringed in a most enormous manner by enforcing oppressive and unconstitutional acts of the British Parliament, by an armed force in the Massachusetts Bay.

"Was it any longer a doubt that we are oppressed by the mother country and that it is the avowed design of the ministers to enslave us, we might perhaps be induced to use argument, to point out in what particulars we conceive that it is the birthright of English subjects to be exempted from all taxes except those which are laid on them by their representatives, and think we have a right not only by the laws and constitution of England to meet for the purpose we have done. Which meeting, we probably would have postponed a while, had there been the least kind of probability that the petition of the General Assembly would have been noticed more than the united petition of almost the whole continent of America by their delegates in Congress.

"Which, so far from being any ways complied with, was treated with superlative contempt by the ministry, and fresh oppressions were and are daily heaped upon us. Upon which principles, principles which are undeniable, we have been appointed to consult methods to contribute what little lies in our power to save our devoted country from ruin and devastation; which, with the assistance of Divine Providence, it is our fixed and determined resolution to do; and if called upon we shall be foremost in sharing the toil and danger of the field. We consider New England suffering in the common cause, and commiserate their distressed situation; and we should be wanting in our duty to our country, and to ourselves if we were any longer backward in announcing our determination to the world.

"We know that some of the members of this committee have been charged with compelling people to come into the measures which have been adopted and with drinking treasonable toasts. But as we are convinced that these reports are false and malicious, spread by our enemies with the sole intent

to lessen us in the esteem of the world, and as we are conscious of being guilty of no crime, and of having barely done our duty, we are entirely unconcerned as to anything that is said of us, or can be done with us.

"We should, however, be careless of our character, did we not wish to detect the despicable wretch who could be so base as to charge us with things which we never have entertained the most distant thoughts of. We are not ignorant of the very great importance of your office, as superintendent of the Indians and therefore it is no more our duty than inclination to protect you in the discharge of the duty of your proper province; and we meet you with pleasure in behalf of ourselves and our constituents, to thank you for meeting the Indians in the upper parts of the County, which may be the means of easing the people of the remainder of their fears on this account, and prevent the Indians from committing irregularities on their way down to Guy Park.

"And we beg of you to use your endeavors with the Indians to dissuade them from interfering in the dispute with the mother country and the colonies. We cannot think that, as you and your family possess very large estates in this county, you are unfavorable to American freedom, although you may differ with us in the mode of obtaining a redress of grievances. Permit us further to observe that we cannot pass over in silence the interruption which the people of the Mohawk district met in their meeting; which we are informed was conducted in a peaceable manner; and the inhuman treatment of a man whose only crime was being faithful to his employers, and refusing to give an account of the receipt of certain papers, to persons who had not the least color of right to demand anything of that kind. We assure you that we are much concerned about it, as two important rights of English subjects are thereby infringed, to wit, a right to meet and to obtain all the intelligence in their power."

To this letter Guy returned only an evasive answer and a pledge of non-interference with the Indians, which his conduct quickly belied.

Nicholas Herkimer was named a member of a committee to interview in person the colonel and asked him to desist from disturbing the savages. They were also to protest against the armed force

which was kept at Fort Johnson and Johnson Hall, and the interruption of travellers on the highway. They found Colonel Guy spreading rumors among the Indians that the New Englanders were on their way to seize him and make war on them, which were, they knew, most baseless charges.

The Tory guard at Guy Park and Johnson Hall was increased to five hundred not long after, and the committee, thoroughly alarmed, wrote to Albany that they "have not 50 pounds of powder in our district." "We are, gentlemen, perhaps in a worse situation than any part of America is at present," they continued. "We have an open enemy before our faces and treacherous friends at our backs." They urged ammunition be sent them immediately.

These preparations were not unobserved by Colonel Johnson. On May 25, he had conducted an Indian council at Guy Park Manor (Amsterdam). Delegates from Albany and Tryon counties were present. The Mohawks denied they had hostile intentions and demanded that no blockade be attempted between their castles and Guy Park, from which they obtained their guns and ammunition. They warned, however, that any move to injure the Indian superintendent would bring them onto the warpath. On the excuse that only the Mohawks had attended the meeting, Colonel Johnson called another powwow at Cosby's Manor between German Flats and Oneida. To this he took his entire group of followers, his family, his secretary and his papers. The movement of this large detachment up the valley aroused great suspicions. But there was no occasion to fear then. Colonel Johnson was taking his departure. He did not stop at Cosby's Manor, but kept on to Fort Stanwix and Oswego, where he met one thousand five hundred Indians. Then, or somewhat later, he enlisted them for operations against the patriots. Colonial documents reveal that he received word from the Earl of Dartmouth under date of July twenty-fourth that "it is therefore his Majesty's pleasure that you lose no time in taking such steps as may induce them (Six Nations) to take up the hatchet against his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America." Reaching Canada, Guy continued to function as the instigator of Indian campaigns against his one-time neighbors. He did not long maintain his position, but was superseded as Indian superintendent in Canada, and is supposed to have died in penury in London some fifteen years later. His American estate was, of course, confiscated.

This left Sir John Johnson at Johnson Hall as the chief Tory threat. He was not disturbed until the following January (1776),

when General Philip Schuyler was ordered from Albany to arrest him. Sir John's Loyalist activities had caused increasing concern, and the knowledge that Guy was in Canada organizing the Indians led to conviction that Sir John was collaborating with him. Sir John's excuse for not leaving sooner was the condition of his wife, who was ill.

Before Sir John was seized, however, an Indian conference was conducted at Albany. One of the early acts of the Continental Congress was to appoint committees to deal with Indian affairs and endeavor to placate them. On the northern district committee were Major-General Schuyler, Major Joseph Hawley, Turbot Francis, Oliver Wolcott and Volckert P. Douw. They arranged a preliminary meeting in June, 1775, at German Flats, where through the efforts of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, Oneida Indian missionary and interpreter, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras assembled.

The Oneidas promised to be neutral, an important declaration which prevented wholesale action by the Six Nations against the Colonies. The savages were invited to a general conference at Albany in late August. The council was opened in Yonkers (State) Street back of the Dutch Reformed Church, which stood at the Broadway corner, and continued in the Dutch and Presbyterian churches. At the invitation of the Congressional commissioners, the leading citizens of the town and officials were invited. The great pipe of peace was passed around the circle to open the session, and at the close the hatchet was buried in the street. All of the Six Nations were represented. It was the last important Indian conference conducted in Albany. The Albany committee, identifying themselves as the "descendants of Quidar," formally greeted the savages, who had rarely convened there since Sir William Johnson became Indian Superintendent twenty-five years before. Colonel Francis spoke for Congress; Abraham, Mohawk chief, for the Six Nations. Explaining to the Indians the causes of the quarrel between the Colonies and Britain, Colonel Francis said:

> "Bretheren, sachems and warriors of the Six United Nations —We, the delegates from the Twelve United Provinces now sitting in General Congress at Philadelphia now send this talk to you, our brothers. We are sixty-five in number appointed by the people throughout all these provinces and colonies to meet and sit together in one great Council, to consult together

for the common good of this land and to speak and act for them.

"We will now tell you of the quarrel between the counsellors of King George and the inhabitants and colonies of America. Many of the counsellors are proud and wicked men. They persuade the King to break the covenant chain, and not send us any more good talks. A considerable number have prevailed upon him to enter into a new covenant against us, and have torn asunder and cast behind their backs the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into and took strong hold of.

"They now tell us that they will slip their hands into our pockets without asking as if they were their own, and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters, or written civil constitutions, which we love as our lives; also our plantations, our houses and goods, whenever they please, without asking our leave; that our vessels may go to this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more; and in case of non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbors.

"We think our cause is just; therefore hope God will be on our side. We do not take up the hatchet and struggle for honor or conquest, but to maintain our civil constitution and religious privileges. . . . . This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We don't wish you to take up the hatchet against the King's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and in behalf of all our people, we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it and to sympathize with us in our troubles."

Abraham's reply asserted that Colonel Johnson had already told them to "sit still" in the dispute between the Colonies and England and that they would agree to do so.

"We have fully considered this matter," he replied. "This, then, is the determination of the Six Nations, not to take any part, but as it is a family affair, to sit still and see you fight it out. We told Colonel Johnson that we should take no part in the quarrel and hoped neither side would desire it. Our love for you has induced us not to meddle." The chief asked for reopening of trade at Albany and Schenectady "as it was in former times when we had hold of the old covenant,

for then, brothers, if our people came down with only a few musquash skins we went home with glad hearts. Brothers, let it be so again."

Presents were made to the savages, as in former times, on the completion of the treaty. It is, however, historic that for perhaps the first time the word given by the Mohawks was not kept. Illness broke out among the tribes shortly after, and Guy Johnson, then having his Indian campaign in full swing, convinced the superstitious savages they were giving offense for not joining the King's cause. The bounties for scalps and the liberal presents heaped upon them served to attract all the Six Nations except the faithful Oneidas and Tuscaroras to the Loyalist side. A few Mohawks at Fort Hunter remained neutral and were afforded safety at Schenectady during the Revolution, living in huts. The braves were sometimes used as scouts.

Powers voted to the Committees of Safety enabled them to perform all functions of civil, military and judicial departments. Militia units were raised and equipped. Supplies were sent to Ticonderoga and other stations. Bills of currency were issued; prices of goods and commodities regulated; a committee appointed to detect and apprehend spies and "disaffected." Tories were crowded into jails at Albany; some were executed; and all who would not sign the Articles of Association were under suspicion.

Troops going north to garrison Ticonderoga were outfitted by Colonel Goose Van Schaick, afterward appointed to command the First New York Line Regiment of the Continental Army, which was raised entirely in Albany County. Colonel Peter Gansevoort, Third New York Line, another able commander, later a general, had a distinguished service, including the siege at Fort Stanwix and battle action at Yorktown. Lack of proper equipment was a handicap to the Colonial troops all through the war, in contrast to the abundantly supplied forces of the King.

While Albany swarmed with the Indians attending the treaty, Colonel Van Schaick wrote to the Provincial Congress asking for aid on behalf of the enlisted men. Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Dutchess County regiment, wrote that many of the men arriving to join Schuyler's command lacked shirts, shoes, stockings, underwear, "in short without any thing fit for soldier except a uniform coat." One company had no more than thirty guns fit for service. Guns, blankets and tents were among the big necessities. Many of the troops were kept on board boats in the river. It is cer-

tain lack of pay as well as supplies was a consideration which caused many of the militiamen to return home.

Schuyler had been ordered to attempt the invasion of Canada, but became ill soon after leaving Albany and had to turn the command over to General Richard Montgomery, who took Montreal and died heroically in December storming Quebec. A list of militia furnished from Albany County for the Montgomery expedition showed a total of 525, as follows: East Manor, Rensselaerwyck, 75; West District, Rensselaerwyck, 75; Claverack and Kings District, 150; East Camp and Groote Imbocht, 75; Half Moon, Ballston and Saratoga, 75; Albany, Schoharie, Coxsackie and Kinderhook, 75.

Vigilance of the Tryon County committee was indicated in July, 1775, when they intercepted Mayor Abraham C. Cuyler, of Albany, going to Montreal. The committee reported that Cuyler, "being suspicious as a Tory against American Liberties," was found going to the Mohawk in a batteau. Captain George Herkimer was sent to inspect the boat to learn if "any letter or warlike stores" were to be found, but he reported nothing amiss, and the mayor, having no ammunition, was permitted to proceed. In June, 1776, Mayor Cuyler, with some fellow royalists in Cartwright's Tavern, was drinking the King's health and otherwise annoying the patriots. They were arrested and jailed, afterward being transferred to Wethersfield Prison, near Hartford, Connecticut. Cuyler's home was seized by the committee as a military hospital. Mrs. Cuyler received permission to leave the city.

Early in 1776, General Schuyler was directed to seize Sir John Johnson because of his continued Tory activities. In the fall of 1775, the Tryon committee had demanded to know Sir Johnson's intentions toward them, what was his attitude toward the war, and whether he would give up the county court and jail at Johnstown without a fight. The question as to whether he would give up the jail was afterward declared an improper one by the Provincial Congress, but the latter body was much gratified to have the question of Sir John's loyalty settled. His reply to the Tryon authorities, in brief, was: He would not endeavor to guide his tenants' loyalties, but he knew they would not go with the Colonies. Concerning himself, "sooner than lift his hand against the King or sign any association, he would suffer his head to be cut off." As to the courthouse, he would not prevent its use for the purpose for which it was built, but "the court house and gaol were his property until he should be refunded 700 Pounds."

When Sir John began erecting larger fortifications around Johnson Hall that winter, the patriots' patience was exhausted and General Schuyler, going up the valley with an army of three thousand militia, met Sir John by appointment on the road between Schenectady and Johnstown. The baronet agreed to surrender the weapons of himself and his Highlanders and to take no hostile steps against the Province. He was released, but in May broke his parole and made his escape with his tenants, leaving by the woods up through the Sacandaga Valley and Adirondacks to Canada. Colonel Elias Dayton, who had been sent to Johnstown on rumors of this movement, retained as a hostage Lady Johnson, who had been left behind. She was taken to Albany and placed under guard, but began communicating with the enemy, and the Committee of Safety decided to give her a pass to the British lines at New York City, where she would be able to cause less trouble.

Sir John's next appearance in the valley was at the head of raiders who exacted a terrible vengeance upon the settlements. In the flight from Johnstown he buried silverware and other valuables which he later dug up and removed successfully to Canada. The records indicate that his band of followers underwent severe hardship on their flight and nearly starved to death. His departure left the valley free of an influence that had been very menacing to the patriots. It has been said that Sir John's long delay in leaving was due to his fondness for the riches Sir William had left him and he kept hoping the controversy would be adjusted amicably between the Colonies and the King, so that he would not have to lose his lordly estates. The Provincial Congress early in the Revolution passed an Act under which estates deserted by Tories reverted to the public, but those which continued to be occupied were not to be disturbed. Up to this point the Whigs had gained the advantage, since both Johnsons had fled into exile. The great domain Sir William had built quickly crashed to bits.

The Provincial Congress of New York began its sessions in July, 1776, at White Plains, and having approved the Declaration of Independence, ordered it proclaimed throughout the Colony. A copy of the document reached Albany July seventeenth and on the following day it was read to the populace with much ceremony and rejoicing. The Committee of Safety resolution recording this event was as follows:

> "Resolved that the Declaration of Independence be published and declared in this City tomorrow at eleven o'clock at

this place, and that Col. Van Schaick be requested to order the Continental Troops in this city to appear under arms at the place aforesaid, and Farther that the Captains of the several Militia Companies in this City be requested to warn the Persons belonging to their respective Companies to appear at the place aforesaid."

The entry following the event read:

"Pursuant to a Resolution of yesterday, the Declaration of Independence was this day read and published at the City Hall to a large concourse of the Inhabitants of the City and the Continental Troops in this City and received with applause and satisfaction."

A tablet in the Albany Plaza, where the old Stadt Huys stood, records in quaint lettering the momentous event, dealt with so briefly in the official account. Perhaps in the high days of 1776 the actual adoption of the formal declaration seemed of less importance than the fact that the Colony was actually fighting for its liberties. On this little plot of green close by the south gate of the city, where blockhouse guns pointed grimly, had occurred a stupendous thing. One who stood on the steps of that three-story brick building, city hall, and looked about, would have viewed a city huddled within a wooden wall of palisades which led up to the hillside where stood a stone fortress bristling with twenty guns.

In front of the building, in rigid rows, stood both Continental and militia troops—the Continental representing the Nation that was being born. About gathered the people—Dutch, English, Scotch, Irish, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, French—a mixed population, but predominantly Dutch. There were Indians, too, a few friendly Mohawks, Stockbridges and Oneidas. And a man with a scroll read out in—let us hope—a stentorian voice the declaration that "these United Colonies are and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States."

What a proclamation, in what a place! Here Henry Hudson had first looked on the great hillside to the west which would be a route of destiny. Here the band of eighteen Walloon families in 1624 had been settled by their Dutch officers, in little huts, the Indians helping them. Here Stuyvesant, in 1652, angrily and arbitrarily had seized land from the patroon to create a free village, setting a cannon-ball distance for the bounds of the public domain. Here, in 1754, from seven Colonies had come the delegates to the first great Congress in

the New World. And now the document itself, of which Philip Livingston was a signer, was being read, while far off in the north were somberly gathering the armies and the Indians who would make a fierce effort to render it meaningless, and cost many lives in the process. The Declaration, said the record, was received with "applause and satisfaction!" There must indeed have been hearts too full to set down flowery utterances on so great an occasion. For history had reached one of its most stupendous moments. Those who heard the magic words of man's inalienable rights thus asserted could not have forseen that within a year they would be holding grimly to the hope that the ragged Continentals and militia would defeat the oncoming invader. Or that later they would see Burgoyne himself riding into town past that ancient Stadt Huys a prisoner of war, and independence safely past the crisis.

The city government had been taken over by the Revolutionary Committee of Safety, March 25, 1776, although it had been performing many of the functions since May first of the preceding year. The fort on the hillside had been surrendered by the British garrison without a struggle. The committee repaired the palisades and blockhouses and put the fort into condition as rapidly as possible. Altogether Albany had an armament of thirty guns, including those in the blockhouses and a big gun near the river side to overlook the stream. At the north end of town a stone wall had been built between the north gate and the Hudson.

Two rooms in the fort were set aside for detention of spies and other persons under investigation. The jail was crowded with Tories who had refused coöperation. The printing shop of the "Albany Gazette," the only newspaper in the city, had been seized early in the conflict, the publishers, Alexander and James Robertson, having been Tories, who fled.

Following the formation of the initial militia units in May, 1775, other companies were formed in the county districts, making seventeen regiments in all. These units with their commanders were as follows:

First Regiment, Albany City, Colonel Jacob Lansing, Jr.; 2d Regiment, Schenectady, Colonel Abraham Wemple; 3d, Rensselaerwyck, Colonel Abraham Ten Broeck; 4th, Rensselaerwyck, Colonel Kiliaen Van Rensselaer; 5th, Rensselaerwyck, Colonel Gerrit G. Van Den Bergh; 6th, Rensselaerwyck, Colonel Stephen J. Schuyler; 7th, Kinderhook, Colonel Abraham J. Van Alstine; 8th, Claverack, Colo-

nel Robert Van Rensselaer; 9th, Claverack, Colonel Peter Van Ness; 10th, Livingston Manor, Colonel Morris Graham; 11th, Coxsackie and Groot Imbocht (Catskill), Colonel Anthony Van Bergen; 12th, Half Moon and Ballston, Colonel Jacobus Van Schoonhoven; 13th, Saratoga, Colonel John McCrea; 14th, Hoosic and Schaghticoke, Colonel John Knickerbacker; 15th, Schoharie and Duanesburg, Colonel Peter Vroman; 16th, Schoharie and Duanesburg, Colonel John Blair; 17th, King's District (Columbia County), Colonel William B. Whiting; Independent Company, Captain Petrus Van Gaasbeck.

Militia commands in Tryon County are listed as follows in "New York in the Revolution," published in 1904 by the State Comptroller's Office:

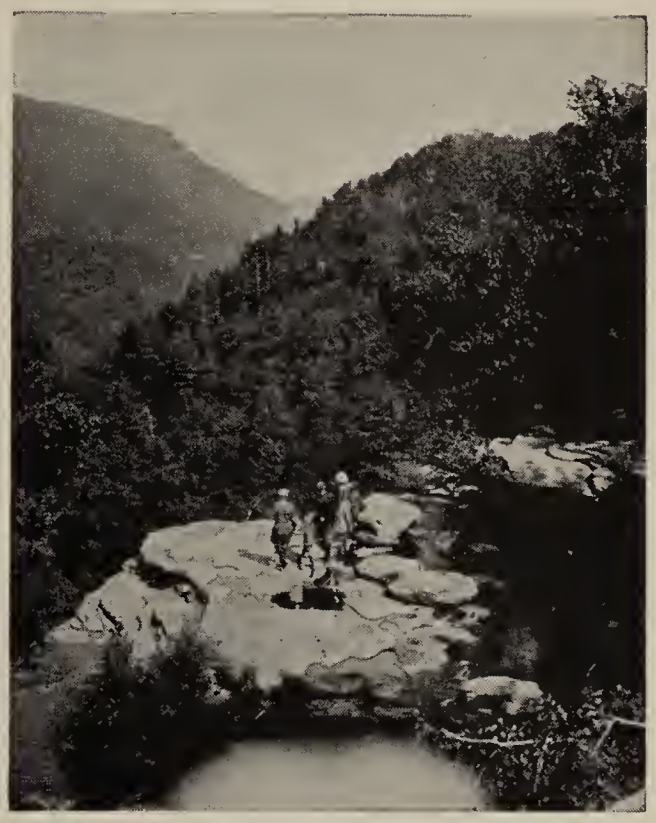
First Regiment, Colonel Samuel Campbell; 2d, Colonel Jacob Klock; 3d, Colonel Frederick Fisher (Visscher); 4th, Colonel Peter Bellinger; 5th, Colonel John Harper. Captain Jelles Fonda commanded the Associated Exempts and there were three companies of Rangers commanded by Captain John Winn, Captain Christian Getman and Captain John Kasselman.

One of the earliest acts of the committee was to send supplies to Ticonderoga after its capture by Ethan Allen, May 10, 1775, with a sufficient number of men and mechanics to build and manage scows with which to bring cannon and military stores from the conquered fort. One hundred men were sent up for this duty, Cornelius Van Santvoordt being named commissary of the expedition and Henry I. Bogart to take charge of building of scows at Lake George. A detachment also was sent from Schenectady for this purpose. The men who answered this call had a part in moving the cannon from Fort Ticonderoga to Albany and across the Hudson under General Knox's direction to aid Washington at Bunker Hill. This enormous task, during which it is said one of the guns foundered while being ferried across the Hudson, but was rescued, is given credit in history for a vital contribution to Washington's defeat of the British in that important battle.

The work of the Committee of Safety was extremely varied. One of their ordinances provided that: "Any person in this City or County who has arms, ammunition or other articles necessary for our defense to dispose of and shall not within ten days after the publication of these resolutions inform this Committee of the quantity and quality of the same shall be held up to the Public as an Enemy to this Country."

The constant activities of the Tories were indicated in another ordinance in 1777 regulating licenses of taverns, since among the keepers of taverns or tippling houses there were many "disaffected and there is reason to believe they have influenced many soldiers to quit the service."

As Albany was a central storehouse for supplying the northern armies, food regulations appear frequently on the records. John Boyd was arrested and confessed to "selling Bohea Tea for 7 shillings sixpence Contrary to Resolution of Continental Congress"; whereupon it was "recommended that all persons break off all intercourse with said Boyd, as an Enemy to the American Cause."



(Courtesy of the State of New York Conservation Department)

View Down Kaaterskill Cove, Catskill Mountains

Tories who were placed on parole had to sign a pledge like this one, which bore the signature of James Hewson: "I do promise on the word and honor of a Soldier and gentleman that I will hold no manner of correspondence or conversation on Political Matters with any person or persons that are inimical to measures now pursued by the United Colonies of America; and that I will not depart the bounds of the District of Coxsackie without leave of the Committee of said District."

Other Tories were dealt with much less gently, and some suffered the penalty of hanging not far from the hilltop fort. The place of execution is believed to have been near the Fox Creek ravine, about where old Albany Academy stands.

In July, 1775, when there seemed to be danger of an invasion by Indians under Joseph Brant and Colonel Walter Butler, the Albany committee sent 150 pounds of powder to the Tryon County Committee and twenty-five pounds to Captain Cornelius Van Dyck, com-

mander of a company at Schenectady, the latter having been ordered by General Schuyler to go up to assist the Tryon militia. The expected onslaught did not occur, the only attack on the frontier that year having been by Indians and Tories on a family west of German Flats.

The failure of the attackers to arrive deceived no one. They knew they would not be long delayed. The departure of Sir John Johnson for Canada was a signal for an exodus of other Tories in the valley, many of whom slipped away to join Johnson's Royal Greens or Butler's Rangers. The summer of 1776 was filled with growing apprehension and rumors came thick that the Johnsons had succeeded in getting the Indians to take up the hatchet.

In the midst of the alarms, General Schuyler turned attention to the frontier defenses. Five new forts were built in the Mohawk Valley that year and others reconstructed. These included Fort Hunter, which was repaired; Fort Plain, built new to guard the Otsquago Valley from invasion; Fort Dayton, at West Canada Creek, on the north side of the Mohawk, present site of Herkimer; Fort Herkimer, the old German Flats, where palisades were built around Fort Herkimer Church with blockhouses at opposite corners; Fort Paris, and Fort Keyser, north and south of the Stone Arabia settlement. Besides these, several stone dwellings were fortified by palisade enclosures and blockhouses, including Fort Wagner, west of Nelliston; Fort Klock, near St. Johnsville; Fort Ehle, a refuge of the French-Indian wars, northwest of Canajoharie. The following year other Mohawk strongholds were built, including Forts Plank and Clyde to the west and south of Fort Plain. Goosen Van Alstyne's house at Canajoharie, a sturdy stone structure dating from 1750, was also fortified and was a meeting place of the Tryon County Committee of Safety. In all, including Fort Johnson, where the jail was palisaded, and a fort at Cherry Valley, there were twenty defensive posts in and near the valley. Fort Stanwix at Rome, which had done duty during the French wars, was repaired and withstood the siege of 1777, but fell to pieces soon after.

In the Schoharie Valley, two of the forts were begun in the fall of 1777, the upper near Fultonham, and middle at Middleburg. The lower fort, at present Schoharie, where palisades enclosed the Stone (Dutch Reformed) Church, built in 1772, was not erected until 1778.

Fort Herkimer was one of the strongest outposts of the Mohawk Valley and survived the Revolution intact. The stone walls of the church formed the central part of the defense and, in 1778, it was a

valued place of refuge during the terrorism of the Indian-Tory raids. A swivel gun was placed in the church tower. Several meetings of the Committee of Safety were conducted in the edifice. A liberty pole was erected. Colonel Dayton, who had charge of the fort construction in the valley, built the stockade around the church and on the opposite side of the river erected Fort Dayton. First commander of Fort Herkimer was Lieutenant-Colonel John Brown, who lost his life in the battle of Stone Arabia in 1780.

Another main outpost was Fort Plain, built on the open hill at the western end of the present community. It had a strong many-sided blockhouse enclosed by a palisaded quadrangle with log and earth embrasures, with blockhouses mounting cannon at opposite corners.

At Cherry Valley, most exposed of all the western settlements, since it was near neither the Schoharie nor Mohawk valleys, a small earthwork and palisade were built around the house of Colonel Samuel Campbell. Historic Fort Alden was built the following year, when a detachment of Massachusetts Continental troops was stationed there. The new fort was on the site of the present burial ground.

The Johnstown jail, the subject of debate between Sir John Johnson and the Tryon County patriots, proved to be an excellent fort. Within its thick stone walls were lodged many of the Tories of the region. The jail was enclosed by a stockade with blockhouses during the Revolution. It is one of the three forts of New York State's western frontier, that stand today, the other being the Stone Church at Schoharie and Fort Herkimer Church. The latter has over the entrance the inscription, "J. H. E. 1767," a memorial of the builder, Johan Joost Herkimer (variously spelled Ergheimer), father of the Revolutionary general. The initials stand for the words "Johan Herkimer Erbaut," (Johan Herkimer Built It).

The Schenectady fort, rebuilt during the French wars, had fallen into disrepair at the time of the Revolution. It was again reconditioned, and had two large guns, a six and a nine-pounder. One of the guns was affectionately known as "Lady Washington." Schenectady raised three companies of militia captained by Jelles Fonda, Cornelius Van Dyck and John Van Patten, afterwards increased to five. Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Yates served with Schuyler against Burgoyne. Major Fonda, on the news of Lexington, raised a company of one hundred men. Van Dyck was made a lieutenant-colonel in Van Schaick's New York Line Regiment.

Defenses about Albany were increased by the addition of a ring of blockhouses, which extended from Kinderhook to Half Moon, Schaghticoke and Saratoga. There was also a blockhouse at Niskayuna on the Mohawk, and a blockhouse at the Schuyler house on the Watervliet Flats north of Albany, which served also as a defense for Van Rensselaer Manor house. Fort Crailo on the east side of the river was placed in a posture for defense. Stone farmhouses in the countryside, wherever existing, such as Becker's, near Feura Bush, were recognized places of refuge for families in the outlying districts.

The intermingling of merchants, farmers, landlords and others of high and low degree, typical of the patriot armies, and which served afterward as an aid in development of modern democracy, was evidenced in the militia lists. In all nineteen members of the Van Rensselaer family served in the Revolution, as did many Schuylers, Livingstons and others.

In Claverack, Lieutenant-Colonel Johannes Van Hoesan was a Revolutionary leader, and a company was raised by Captain Hendrick Van Hoesan. From Livingston a company was recruited by Captain John McKinstry, which served in 1776 on the St. Lawrence River. General Henry B. Livingston served at Quebec and Saratoga. Captain David Van Ness, of Kinderhook, headed a militia company.

In Greene County, Captain Samuel Van Vechten's company was one of those serving with distinction.

While in the Columbia and Greene County areas there was no large battle action, the inhabitants were in constant peril from the Tories or "cowboys," who skulked through the woods and committed many atrocities. Bands of Tories hovered in the Catskill heights near Hunter and in the vicinity of Malden Bridge in Columbia County. Settlers of Kinderhook and Canaan were often called out to avenge Tory depredations and do guard duty. Some of the farmhouses now standing were once used as Tory jails by the embattled country men. The Helderbergs also were used for Tory hideouts. Jacob Schell, of that district, was hanged in Albany after a court martial, as an enemy.

When the articles of association and loyalty were being taken around to the various districts of the county, the patriots paraded to the signing place at drum beat, and those who did not respond were thus found to be faint-hearted toward the cause, if not adverse to it.

The work of the Albany County Committee of Safety received favorable comment from the Continental Congress for its promptness

in organizing militia and furnishing supplies for Ticonderoga. The committee held a position of much responsibility since Albany was a military rendezvous point. With New York City in the hands of the British during the war, it devolved upon the Albany unit to maintain contact with committees along the frontier and down the Hudson, as well as with the provincial and national governments. The committee leaders faced added duties when the appointment of a secret Committee for the Detection of Spies and Conspiracies was authorized by the Provincial Congress in 1776. Serving on this body were Walter Livingston, John Bay, Stephen J. Schuyler and some others, working in collaboration with a congressional committee.

General Schuyler wrote from Philadelphia, June 3, 1775:

> "The conduct of the Albany Committee has given great satisfaction to the Congress. You cannot wonder that I should be pleased with every Transaction that reflects honor on my dear countrymen. The article of powder is under serious consideration; but, difficult as it is to procure that essential commodity, I hope we soon shall have a supply. May indulgent Heaven smile propitious on the endeavor of the Americans to remain a free and a happy people; may my countrymen stand distinguished in the glorious struggle and may an all directing Providence guide us safely through the dangers of this unhappy contest."

General Schuyler's ardent patriotism was attested on many occasions. In the New York Assembly, March 3, 1775, even before the battle of Lexington, Schuyler had moved to censure King George III. The resolution carried three to two, the Loyalists, among whom were some of Schuyler's oldest friends, leaving the room. Early in the war he wrote to a friend: "I care not what others may do. As for me and my house, we will serve our country." Few men gave more to the American cause than Schuyler. His financial losses exceeded $50,000, due to sums he advanced and property that was destroyed. There are some indications he had lost the bulk of his wealth in the conflict. In the year 1777 he was to undergo great trial, as he endeavored to build up a defense against a foe whose forces seemed overwhelming. He survived these trials even though greatly maligned and has left an imperishable name.

Philip Livingston, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born on the northwest corner of State and Pearl streets, Albany, in 1716, a descendant of Robert Livingston, first clerk of Albany and

founder of the manor of Livingston in Columbia County. The family residence for many years occupied that site. It was diagonally across from the residence where, in 1733, Philip Schuyler was born. Philip Livingston was president of the Provincial Convention of 1775, and delegate to the Continental Congress. The Schuyler house, when it was torn down in the 'eighties, was considered one of the two oldest in the city, dating from 1667. From it Philip Schuyler, soon after his marriage to Kitty Van Rensselaer, moved to the new mansion he built at the south end of the city, which he called "The Pastures," and which has been preserved as a museum by the State of New York.

The business of keeping the northern troops supplied with provisions was one of the largest tasks of the Albany County area. General Philip Schuyler established mills for grinding grain and cutting wood, and had a huge corps of blacksmiths besides. Iron mines in the Ancram vicinity of Columbia County, as those in Dutchess were kept busy. From the Schoharie Valley alone more than eighty thousand bushels of wheat were furnished to the Continental Army; this was commented upon by Washington, and drew attention to the region, resulting in a rush of settlement after the war. It is said that Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, visited the Helderberg region appealing to the farmers to raise grain for the patriot troops and rewarding the more industrious with cancellations of their land tenures granting them titles free and clear. Authority was finally granted to impress wheat and horses. Many horses were purchased in Tryon County.

One of the important events was the formation of four Tryon County militia regiments into a brigade in September, 1776, when Nicholas Herkimer, colonel of the Canajoharie regiment, and chairman of the Committee of Safety, was commissioned a brigadier-general by the Provincial Congress. The Congress had been functioning since July 9, 1776, when it convened at White Plains. Steps were set under way to establish a Constitution which was adopted the next year.

The transition from Royal to State government was significantly shown in the commission issued to General Herkimer, which read:

> "In convention of the Representatives of the State of New York, To Nicholas Herkimer Esquire, greeting: We reposing Especial trust and Confidence in your patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint



Albany—Parker F. Dunn Memorial Bridge Over the Hudson River, Viewed from Albany Approach

you the said Nicholas Herkimer Brigadier General of the Brigade of Militia of the county Tryon Embodies for the defence of American Liberty and for repelling Every Hostile Invasion thereof, you are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Brigadier General by doing and performing all manner of things, therunto belonging, and we do strictly charge and Require all officers and privates under your command to be obedient to your orders as Brigadier General; and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from the present or any future Congress of the United States of America, or from this or any future Convention of the Representatives, or future executive Authority of this State, or from the Commander in Chief for the time Being of the Army of the United States or any other your superior officer According to the rules and Discipline of War, in pursuance of the Trust Reposed in you. Provided such orders and directions of the said Commander in Chief or of such Superior Officer be grounded on the authority of the present or any future Congress of the United American States, or the present or any future Convention of the Representatives or other Executive authority of this state, or their Respective committees of Safety; This Commission to Continue in force until Revoked by this or a future convention of this State.

"Given at Fishkills the fifth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six. By order, Ab'm Yates, President, Attest, John McKesson, Sec'y."

General Herkimer, who came to immortal fame in the battle of Oriskany, was a portrayal of the growth of the American idea. Son of Johan Joost and Catherine Herkimer, who settled in the Mohawk Valley in 1722 opposite the present site of Herkimer village, he was a native of this soil. Here he was born in 1728 in a log cabin on the south shore of the river. Here he learned woodcraft and trade with the Indians, became a leader as his father had been before him. His father's fame is perpetuated in the Fort Herkimer Church, a rugged stone building which became the refuge for that section of the valley in times of peril. General Herkimer, like his father, was physically powerful, about six feet in height. He was familiarly known as "Hannikol." The name Herkimer was spelled in many ways, spelling not being one of the particularities of frontier life.

Nicholas Herkimer was an avowed patriot from the beginning, though his own family circle was split by Toryism. In 1764 he built the house which still stands, two miles east of Little Falls on the south side of the river. It was to this he was carried from the battlefield of Oriskany, with his fatal wound. A State park encloses it.

It is not without significance that General Peter Gansevoort, who is 1777 held Fort Stanwix, western gate of the Mohawk Valley, and Philip Schuyler, who held the north against Burgoyne, were descendants several generations removed from Dutch pioneers on the Hudson, and that Herkimer, facing the supreme test, was a first generation American. On such a basis rested the rock-like resistance that held these valleys safe against invaders. Abraham Yates, Jr., who signed Herkimer's commission, was an Albany delegate in the Provincial Congresses, 1775-76, and several times was president *pro tem.*

In the winter of 1776-77 a number of officers of the Continental Army were quartered at Albany, among them General Horatio Gates, General Morgan Lewis, Colonel Benedict Arnold and Colonel John Brown. During this period Colonel Brown, in a letter, wrote of Arnold: "Money is this man's God; to get enough of it he would sacrifice his country."

Three years later, when Colonel Brown was slain in a desperate fight at Stone Arabia, Arnold was already a fugitive.

CHAPTER XVI

The Revolution: the Invasion

Year of Crisis—Washington in Despair, Patriot Hopes at Lowest Ebb—Arnold Loses Naval Battle on Lake Champlain—Burgoyne Plans Four-way Invasion, via Mohawk, Schoharie, Champlain and Hudson Valleys, with Junction at Albany—Cherry Valley Arms—Burgoyne's "Scare" Proclamation—Seizes Ticonderoga—Schuyler Blamed, Orders Trees Felled on Road to Fort Edward—Delays Burgoyne Twenty-four Days—St. Leger at Fort Stanwix—Bloody Battle of Oriskany—Herkimer Fatally Wounded, Hàlf the Valley Bereaved in Tragic Slaughter—Stars and Stripes Flown at Fort Stanwix—Arnold's Ruse Raises the Siege—Captain McDonald Routed Near Breakabeen—Baum Defeated at Walloomsac—Schuyler, at Van Schaick Island Camp, Relieved of Command, Gates His Successor—Jane McCrea Scalped—Tide Now Turns, Recruits Come In—Gates Advances to Bemis Heights—Battles of Saratoga, September 17 and October 9—Timothy Murphy Shoots Fraser—Burgoyne Surrenders, October 17—Turning Point of the Revolution—March of the Conquered Armies Through Troy and Kinderhook—Burgoyne Prisoner at Albany Mansion—Clinton's Raid up the Hudson, Burns Clermont—Events in Albany in 1777—Battle of Normanskill—Slaying of Abraham Van Ness, Malden Bridge—Burgoyne Comments on the Tories.

The hour of crisis was now at hand. In the year 1777 all things hung in the balance. The Provincial Convention on July 9, 1777, had approved the Declaration of Independence and proclaimed New York a free and independent "state," severing irreparably the cord of royal attachment. Now it became necessary to prove all the fine words that had been spoken in 1775 and 1776. The "resolves," the aims, the pledges to stand together had to run the gamut of proof. That proof, it was soon established, would not come with oratory, but with flaming guns and human sacrifice.

Particularly the crisis had come to the Province of New York. Boston had been once taken by the British and freed again. New

York City had fallen to the enemy and remained in its grasp. Washington, with his bedraggled army, lacking supplies of almost all kinds, late in November was hurriedly retreating across New Jersey, his army crumbling with every step, and pursued by Howe. Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. In December occurred Washington's brilliant Trenton attack, but a serious winter was ahead. Despairing, he wrote: "Ten days more will put an end to the existence of our army."

With the war already in its second year, failure seemed inescapable. On Lake Champlain, after the battle of Valcour Island, Arnold's navy had been forced to retreat to Ticonderoga before Carleton's pursuit, and the loss of the lake directed sharp criticism against General Schuyler. Viewing the easy seizure of New York City, Burke said in Parliament: "The Americans have done much, but it is evident that they cannot look standing armies in the face." The events of 1775 and 1776 had left the British ministry jubilant. They set about laying the plans which they firmly felt would bring a quick conclusion to the contest. Howe, at New York, endeavored to persuade Franklin and other commissioners to withdraw the Declaration of Independence, saying all would then be forgiven, and the war would be called off. But the commissioners refused the offer without hesitation. Howe gravely abandoned the prospect of getting these headstrong people to give up without more fighting. The plan drawn for the campaign of 1777, like many of those the French had prepared in earlier times, was centered against the northern frontier—invasion by the Mohawk and Hudson valleys. New York was to become and did become the Flanders Field of the Revolution. Here, in a remarkable series of engagements, the war was to find its crisis and turning point. Oriskany, Fort Stanwix, Walloomsac, the Flockey and Saratoga were to achieve a new chapter in world history. The sufferers were to be not the troops at the front only, but farm families, innocent non-combatants, scattered along the valleys, who underwent horrors that in this country have never been equalled.

A great dread seized upon the dwellers of the frontier as early as the summer of 1776, when rumors came thickly from Canada of conferences Guy Johnson was having with the Indians to bring them onto the warpath. There were rumors, too, of Tory recruits joining Sir John Johnson and Colonel John Butler, to go against their former neighbors with torch, tomahawk and gun. Among the first to hear these reports of sinister preparation was Cherry Valley, fifty miles west of Albany, situated near the Indian path running between the

Mohawk Valley and Oquago, an old Indian settlement on the Susquehanna below Unadilla. The Cherry Valley folk had signed the general association in 1775, raising their own company of rangers for the patriot cause under Captain Robert McKean. The settlement then numbering about three hundred, was remote from either the Mohawk or Schoharie Valley forts. Realizing the hazard of their exposed position, the inhabitants at a town meeting petitioned the Provincial Congress for aid. They wrote, July 1, 1776:

> "To the honorable members of the Provincial Congres of New York—
>
> "The humble petition of inhabitants of Cherry Valley, Newtown-Martin and Springfield, in the County of Tryon, humbly showeth:
>
> "That we, the aforesaid inhabitants, from the most authentic intelligence we have received from our missionaries and Indian friends, learn that we are in imminent danger of being cut off by the savages, our enemies, whom we understand are bribed by Sir John Johnson and Col. Butler to execute the same.
>
> "Know also, honorable gentlemen, that the spirit of our inhabitants has been such for the American cause that out of the small and scattered bounds of Cherry Valley and Newtown-Martin, no less than thirty-three have turned out for immediate service and good of their country and thereby left us in a defenceless condition.
>
> "We therefore, your humble petitioners, humbly pray you would forthwith take this, our deplorable and distressed state and condition under your immediate consideration, and meditate some speedy relief to us, before it be too late; especially, as the inhabitants of the Old England district and Unadilla are daily flying in to our settlement so that we shall immediately, in all appearance, become an open, defenceless and unguarded frontier, and very much exposed to the insults of the enemy, especially scalping parties; and are at present without either ammunition or men, any way sufficient to defend ourselves; and unless you gentlemen that can help us, will help us, by sending ammunition to the inhabitants and a sufficient number of men, such as you may think proper to guard our frontiers, we must expect to fall victims to the rage and fury of our merciless enemies. And therefore, must once more beg

you may take this deplorable circumstance under your consideration and send us immediate relief, and your petitioners shall ever pray."

Signers of the petition included the Rev. Samuel Dunlop, patriarch of the village and one of the founders who had located there when the place was but a wilderness. He was now at an advanced age, and in the next year was to suffer agony during the massacre. Other signers included Colonel Samuel Campbell, James Scott, Robert Wells, James Richey, James Moore and Major Samuel Clyde. Their request was granted and a company of rangers under Captain Winn was stationed there.

No fortification had then been erected in the village. The reported presence of Brant at Unadilla, in the summer of 1777, with a number of savage warriors, spread new alarm. A fort consisting of an embankment of logs and earth was erected immediately about the house of Colonel Campbell, the largest home in the community, which stood on a knoll. Two small blockhouses were built within the enclosure. Guards were assiduously maintained. The inhabitants, leaving their own homes, lived under a military régime within the fort during the summer. In the fall of 1777, to take care of the harvest, they returned to their homes. In August many responded to Arnold's call for volunteers to help raise the siege at Fort Stanwix, but being at a distance were late in overtaking the detachment. The following spring, a year after an appeal to General Lafayette, who was stationed in Albany, a new fort was built. The prompt precautions taken in 1776 and 1777 prevented attacks on the village in those years. It was not until 1778, when the savages were able to stage a surprise raid, that the village was destroyed.

In the spring of 1777 Brant gathered seven hundred Indians at Unadilla, notifying all white settlers that those loyal to the Crown could stay there, but there was no room for the others. General Nicholas Herkimer, in June, took 350 Tryon County militiamen from Canajoharie to Unadilla for a conference with the Indian chieftain, at which he asked Brant for a frank declaration of his intentions. Brant's reply was that the Indians "were in concert with the king as their fathers and grandfathers had been; that the king's belts were yet lodged with them and they could not falsify their pledge." Brant asserted that General Herkimer and the rest of the Colonists had joined the people of Boston against the King, "but the king would humble them"; and that the Indians "had formerly made war on the

white people all united; and now they were divided, the Indians were not frightened."

Brant, whose name has never ceased to echo in the valley, was an "educated Indian," and some enthusiasts have called him the most advanced specimen of his race. Born on the Ohio River during a hunting expedition, he was a grandson of King Hendrick, who was taken to Queen Anne by Colonel Peter Schuyler in 1710. He was the brother of Molly Brant, who became the brownskin "Lady Johnson," of Johnson Hall. Brant received extraordinary advantages under Sir William's tutelage, being sent to Dr. Wheelock's School at Lebanon, Connecticut, the institution from which Dartmouth College grew. For a time he acted as Indian interpreter for missionaries. In the French wars he served under Sir William on the Niagara expedition, also at Detroit as an interpreter. He is famed as the translator of the Book of Mark and the Episcopal Prayer Book into Indian tongue.

When Guy Johnson fled to Canada, Brant went along as his secretary and was appointed a captain of the British Army in charge of Mohawk Indians. During a trip to England, in 1776, with Colonel Johnson, Brant's portrait was painted and he received many social attentions.

His appearance at Unadilla in the spring of 1777 marked his début in the rôle of enemy to his former neighbors. His cruelties as well as acts of kindness toward women and children whom he sometimes managed to save, have made his career both praised and execrated. His Indian name was Thayendanegea. His portrait appears cut in stone on the east façade of the State Capitol at Albany. After the Revolution he lived in considerable style in Brantford, Canada, where there is a striking statue of him. Rochefoucauld described the chief as having "European manners." "He is also much respected by the Americans," wrote the French traveler, "and in general bears so excellent a name that I regret I could not see and become better acquainted with him."

After his conference with General Herkimer, Brant led his savages to Oswego, where after considerable powwowing the Iroquois agreed to join the British, except for the Oneidas and Tuscaroras. The influence among the latter of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, missionary, is generally credited with preserving the neutrality of the latter tribes. In contrast with the British practice of employing savages in the Revolution was the refusal of General Schuyler to bring his Oneida and Stockbridge allies into the fray. Returning from one

of Colonel Daniel Claus' treaties with the Iroquois just prior to the Mohawk Valley invasion by St. Leger, an Oneida Indian urged reinforcement of Fort Stanwix (which was called Fort Schuyler during the Revolution) and the cutting of trees across the carry at Wood Creek as a barrier to invaders.

Warning that some savages were being collected at Niagara for a descent on the valley while Sir John Johnson was assembling others at Oswego, the Oneida said:

> "Brothers, We are suspicious that your enemies have engaged the Indians and endeavor daily yet to strike and fight against you; and General Schuyler refuses always that we shall take up arms in the country's behalf. I can assure you that as soon as Butler's speech at Oswego shall be over, they intend to march down the country immediately, till to Albany."

The British plan for the dismemberment of New York Province was devised early in 1777 as a determined effort to prevent a long and aimless war. Washington's ability to evade the traps Howe had set for him proved exasperating. The specific proposals for the drive came from General John Burgoyne, who had been serving in Canada in 1776 but did not regard his prospects for advancement under Carleton, the Canadian Governor, as promising. Burgoyne had attained some success, aiding in the defeat of Arnold in the battle of Lake Champlain, and getting as far as Ticonderoga. He left for England, and on February 28, 1777, he was closeted with His Majesty, King George III, to whom he presented his "Thoughts for Conducting the War from the side of Canada." This was the famous triple-threat campaign which has made so much history. St. Leger, coming down from Montreal to Oswego, was to invade the Mohawk Valley and, taking Fort Stanwix, was to sweep grandly down to Albany. Howe, at New York City with the main British command of thirty thousand, was to move up the Hudson in coördination with St. Leger and with Burgoyne, who was to invade by the Champlain route, effect a junction at Albany. Actually there was a fourth wing in the strategy. A smaller detachment was to be started from Niagara under Captain Donald McDonald, circling by way of the Chemung and Susquehanna rivers, to invade the Schoharie Valley. Raising Tories as he went, McDonald was to join St. Leger in the Mohawk. This was the fourth phase of the attack.

It was a master plan in many respects and, had all phases worked as expected, there would have been a ready victory. One of the tech-

nical defects was the separation of the units at the start, which divided the British strength during the more difficult parts of the attack. Other flaws developed as the campaign entered its stride, the chief element being the bad miscalculation of the number of Tory sympathizers who would flock to the British standard. In common with many British officers, and perhaps induced to that opinion by the Johnsons, Burgoyne felt confident he had but to put in appearance with his splendidly equipped army to attract the countryside to his cause.

One of the features of the campaign which has always been startling to the American mind was the employment by King George of German mercenaries. Carlyle quotes King George as calling German



(Photo by F. P. Kimball)

The Great Mohawk Valley Transportation Corridor Near Fort Plain—Showing Highway, Railway and Canal

recruiting "neither more nor less than man-stealing," but in spite of compunction raised in Parliament during the debate on the issue, recruiting was soon begun for the British expeditionary force. German princes found it profitable business to impress their subjects for military duty, many of whom were ruthlessly torn from their homes and families. Mercenaries were furnished by the Crown Prince of Hesse-Cassel and from Hesse-Darmstadt, Württemberg, Saxe-Gotha and Baden. The Duke of Brunswick furnished four thousand infantry and one thousand light dragoons, and pocketed the money he received from the British, so that Baron Riedesel, their commander,

had to borrow five thousand pounds from the British to buy proper clothing for them. The first division of Hessian recruits totalled 8,397; the second division 3,997, many of them boys of seventeen and eighteen. Two thousand Brunswickers were captured at Saratoga. Many of the hired soldiers deserted as Burgoyne approached Albany. Many Hessians attached to the British forces at New York managed to remain there after the evacuation, to begin civilian lives in the new country. George W. Greene has estimated the British paid approximately fourteen million pounds for their German troops in the American war.

Burgoyne was appointed a lieutenant-general for the campaign. He started from Quebec in May, 1777, with an army of nearly eight thousand, which included three thousand Germans, four thousand British, one hundred and fifty Canadians and Tories and five hundred Indians. He had expected to recruit at least two thousand Tories from those who had fled to Canada, but met with his first disappointment in this respect. Colonel Barry St. Leger, who had excellent military reputation, departed from Montreal in June with four hundred British regulars. He was joined at Oswego by six hundred Tories and three hundred or four hundred Indians, mostly Mohawks. The Tories and Indians thus made up the bulk of the command. The savages were placed in charge of Brant.

The movement of these armed forces southward by parallel routes, to strike at both ends of the Mohawk Valley and form a junction at the Hudson, produced the greatest alarm among the inhabitants. Methods adopted by the commanders to render their invasion impressive reveal many of the devices of modern warfare were in good standing then. Both Burgoyne and St. Leger sought to prey on the nerves of the populace, issuing proclamations designed to strike terror through threat of Indian atrocities. The hope undoubtedly was to stimulate the Tories—the "Fifth Columnists" of their day—to swarm out in numbers to join the King's banner as the royal legions approached.

Coming to Lake Champlain, Burgoyne outfitted himself with a flotilla, which made the passage over the water in spectacular form. Captain Thomas Auburey, a young British officer, enthused by the scene, wrote that the brigades moved down seventeen to twenty miles a day in regular formations on the vessels, "the most splendid regatta ever beheld."

"In the front went the Indians in their birch canoes containing twenty or thirty in each; then the advanced corps in a regular line

with the gunboats; then followed the 'Royal George' and 'Inflexible,' with other brigs and sloops; after them the brigades in their order."

On the twentieth of June, at Putnam's Creek, Burgoyne issued a stentorian manifesto, in which he called upon loyal subjects of the Crown to rally to his standard and threatened those who failed to respond with extreme and devastating punishment. The proclamation was parodied aptly from the American side. This was his proclamation, distributed by the Tories and secret agents:

"By John Burgoyne Esq.

"Lieutenant General of His Majesties Armies in America, Col. of the Queen's regiment of Light Dragoons, Governor of Fort William in North Britain, One of the representatives of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament and Commanding an army and fleet employed in an expedition from Canada.

"The forces intrusted to my command are designed to act in concert and upon a common principle with the numerous armies and fleets which already display in every quarter of America the Power, Justice (and when properly sought) the Mercy of the King. The cause in which the British armies are exerted, applies to the most affecting interest of the human heart, and the military servants of the crown, at first called forth for the sole purpose of Restoring the rights of the Constitution, now combine with love of their Country, and duty to their Sovereign, the other extensive incitements which spring from a true sense of the general privileges of mankind. To the eyes and ears of the temperate part of the public, and to the breasts of the suffering thousands in the Provinces, be the melancholy appeal, whether the present unnatural Rebellion has not been made a foundation for the completest system of tyranny that ever God in his displeasure suffered for a time to be exercised over a froward and stubborn generation. Arbitrary Imprisonment, confiscation of property, Persecution and torture, unprecedented in the Inquisition of the Romish Church are amongst the palpable enormities that verify the affirmative. These are inflicted by Assemblys and Committees, who dare to profess themselves friends to Liberty, upon the most quiet subjects, without distinction of age or sex, for the sole crime, often the sole suspicion, of having adhered in

principle to the Government under which they were born, and to which, by every tie, Divine and human, they owe allegiance. To consummate these shocking proceedings, the profanation of religion is added to the most profligate prostitution of common reason; the consciences of men set at naught and multitudes are compelled, not only to bear arms, but also to swear subjection to an usurpation they abhor. Animated by these considerations, at the head of troops in the full powers of health, discipline and valour, determined to strike when necessary and anxious to spare when possible, I, by these presents, invite and exhort all persons, in all places where the progress of this army may point (and by the blessing of God I will extend it) to maintain such a conduct as may justify in protecting their Lands, Habitations and Families.

"The intention of this address is to hold forth security, not degradation to the country. To those whom spirit and principle may induce to partake in the glorious task of redeeming their countrymen from dungeons and reëstablishing the blessings of Legal Government, I offer encouragement, and employment, and upon the first intelligence of their associating, I will find means to assist their undertakings. The domestic, the industrious, the infirm and even the timid inhabitants, I am desirous to protect, provided they remain quietly in their houses, that they do not suffer their cattle to be removed, nor their corn or forage to be secreted or destroyed; that they do not break up their bridges or roads nor by any other acts, directly or indirectly, endeavour to obstruct the operations of the King's troops, or supply or subsist those of the enemy: every species of provisions brought to my camp will be paid for at an equitable rate and in solid coin. The consciousness of Christianity, my Royal Master's Clemency, and the honour of soldiership I have dwelt upon in this invitation and wished for more persuasive terms to give it impression; and let not people be led to disregard it by considering their distance from the immediate situation of my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction (and they amount to thousands) to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America. I consider them the same wherever they may lurk. If notwithstanding these endeavours, and sincere inclinations to effect them, the phrensy (*sic*) of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of

> God and men in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the State against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of Justice and wrath await them in the field; and Devastation, famine and every concomitant horror that a reluctant, but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion will bar the way to their return."

Burgoyne prided himself on his literary compositions and had written plays, but his propaganda efforts did not receive anything like the response he had anticipated. A reply to the bombastic proclamation was prepared by Francis Hopkinson, which served to convulse the patriots with laughter.

The reply took Burgoyne's address apart with nicety, tossing back his pompous phrases, and particularly deriding him for his "consciousness of Christianity," while threatening in the same breath to "give stretch to the Indian forces" under his direction. Nor did the parodist fail to take advantage of Burgoyne's description of himself as "Governor of Fort William in North Britain," a meaningless title in America. His demand that the patriots sit quietly by, leaving their wives, daughters, cattle, corn and forage exposed to Burgoyne's forces, aroused the highest scorn of the commentator.

As a soldier Burgoyne appeared to much better advantage than as a litterateur. His military dispatches were couched in much more appropriate terms. His proclamation was recognized as a piece of immense effrontery, and while it may have frightened the more timorous, failed to jar the average patriot. The depredations of Burgoyne's Indians, however, soon became real enough to arouse anxiety and convince the settlers in the north that none of them was safe from the advancing troops.

The march of Burgoyne southward and his capture of Fort Ticonderoga, July fifth, forcing the evacuation of this 'American Gibraltar, simply by fortifying Mount Defiance which overlooked it, created a vast impression. Ticonderoga had been counted on to hold out against all odds, a prized possession since its capture by Ethan Allen. Yet the peerless fortress was given up without a shot being fired! That General St. Clair, the American commander, had only three thousand five hundred troops did not make matters any better. St. Clair had neglected to arm Mount Defiance. The British general Phillips, seeing the opportunity, had done the seemingly impossible, moving guns up the neighboring mountain by night. In the morning these guns looked down into the fort and it became untenable. The

truth was that the fort had been built in the French-Indian days when artillery power was much weaker. Lieutenant Digby wrote in his journal that "the brass train (artillery) that was sent out on this expedition was perhaps the finest and probably the most excellently supplied as to officers and men that had ever been allotted to second the operations of an army." Nor were Burgoyne's troops any less notable. His British regiments included seasoned veterans and some of the most brilliant commanders in the British Army, while the German Riedesel was also considered an excellent militarist. Ticonderoga probably could not long have been held even had St. Clair seized Mount Defiance first, unless reinforced by a strength at least equal to Burgoyne's. Such reinforcements were not available.

Just before achieving this splendid coup, Burgoyne signified to his army that they had entered enemy territory, and their fate lay before them. He issued his memorable order to the troops: "This army embarks tomorrow to approach the enemy. The services required of this particular expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress occasions may occur in which nor difficulty nor labor nor life are to be regarded. This army must not retreat."

After the investment of Ticonderoga, Burgoyne's fleet broke the barriers placed between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, the Americans fleeing to Skenesborough (Whitehall), where they burned the fort and other buildings. St. Clair retreated toward Castleton, Vermont, and, pursued by the British General Fraser in a rear guard action, suffered severe losses at Hubbardton, Vermont. Another branch of the American force retreated toward Fort Ann, where Colonels Long and Nicholas Van Rensselaer fought a stubborn and important engagement. The Americans were winning this battle when their ammunition ran low and the British were reinforced by an Indian detachment.

Fort Ann was burned and evacuated, but the British retired to Whitehall, where Burogyne had gone with his main army, establishing headquarters. The American troops which survived these engagements reassembled a few days later at Fort Edward and Fort Ann.

The advance of Burgoyne, penetrating into the heart of the country with little opposition being offered, produced a panic among the residents of the northern country. They began a wild flight, packing up their belongings on farm wagons and hastening down the roads to Albany or Manchester, Vermont, for places of safety. The consternation was accelerated by the presence of Indian troops, who were reported roving the woods for scalps. The number of refugees soon

strained the facilities of Albany. Many were forced to find shelter in barns and tents. On July tenth Burgoyne, from his headquarters at Skenesborough, felt so well pleased with his success that he ordered a celebration, with cannon fired at sunset at the British-held posts of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Skenesborough and Castleton. It was a bright day in his career—perhaps the brightest his campaign would see.

For General Schuyler the time of crisis had now arrived. For two months that spring—during April and May—he had been in Philadelphia defending himself from his enemies in Congress for the lack of success the previous year. During this time General Horatio Gates had been in charge at Albany, and Gates should have undertaken, without delay, the adequate garrisoning of Fort Ticonderoga. The blame for the subsequent loss of the fort belonged, indeed, to him alone, since he was the official commander. The assembling of troops and supplies proceeded very slowly; St. Clair got no reinforcements, and Schuyler, returning to Albany, June third, from Philadelphia, found little had been accomplished. His first important news from the front was the staggering loss of Ticonderoga on July fifth.

General Schuyler set out for Fort Edward, leaving word at Albany for the immediate dispatch of expected troops from the south. At Fort Edward he took command of the reassembled units of St. Clair's army and on the thirteenth Nixon's brigade arrived from Peekskill with some five hundred men, a quarter of the number expected. Altogether, Schuyler's army then totalled 4,467 men. They were half equipped, deficient in ammunition and every kind of supplies. There was no enclosed fort at Fort Edward. The troops had to encamp on the open ground with little or no shelter from the elements. It was not a force fit either in number or accoutrement to oppose the strength of Burgoyne.

Seeing the futility of trying to hold the line with this inadequate force, Schuyler did the next best thing. He sent the half-armed troops into the woods with axes, stationed guards about them to prevent surprise attack, and ordered them to level the trees along the swampy forest road that Burgoyne would have to follow in coming down from Skenesborough. It seems a singular circumstance that axes rather than guns furnished the obstacle that gave the Americans the breathing space they needed so badly in which to arouse the sluggish Colonies to send reinforcements. But this was the case.

The entanglement of fallen trees that Schuyler's men produced on that road was responsible for a delay of nearly a month in Burgoyne's

advance. One writer has said: "So thoroughly was this program of obstruction effected that the invading army was compelled to remove at every ten or twelve yards great trees which lay across the road, and exclusive of the natural difficulties of the country, the watery ground and marshes were so numerous that they were compelled to construct no less than forty bridges (one of which was nearly two miles in length) on the march from Skenesborough to Fort Edward.

"Lake George was partially used for the transport of stores, Fort George, at the head of the lake having been abandoned by the Americans who after saving forty pieces of cannon and fifteen tons of gunpowder barely escaped being cut off by the movement of the enemy to Fort Edward. Such were the obstructions thrown in the way that Burgoyne only made his headquarters at Fort Edward on the 30th of July, having consumed twenty-four days after his arrival at Skenesborough in a movement of twenty-six miles. Here his eyes were cheered with a first view of the Hudson, a vision delusive as a mirage."

While Burgoyne was coming through the tangle, Schuyler, at Fort Edward, was conferring with his generals, and on August first began looking for a battle site. Since there was no defensible ground on the north side of the Hudson, they dropped down to Stillwater, where a choice of a site was made for a camp. Kosciuszko, the engineer, began throwing up entrenchments on a plateau adjoining the river and the army moved down. It was the beginning of a recession movement by Schuyler which carried him down to Van Schaick Island, on the south side of the Mohawk, in the present city of Cohoes, nine miles from Albany. There for a time it appeared the last stand would be made against the powerful British invader. These entrenchments are still to be seen.

Burgoyne, having broken through the entanglements, reached Fort Edward on July thirtieth. He remained there until August fifteenth, assembling supplies for the final sweep which he felt confident would carry him to Albany by the end of August, or sooner. This second delay in his advance was due to the time required to bring up supplies he had sent to Fort George. In all, he spent forty days coming down from Skenesborough. These were probably the forty most vital days in the life of the young Republic. Many authorities are convinced that had Burgoyne originally taken the route from Ticonderoga through Lake George (which the Colonial armies had always done), instead of trying to move through the morass by land from Skenesborough to the Hudson, he would have reached Albany

in less time, while it was only feebly defended. The records indicate that King George, himself, a much maligned monarch, had the military perspicacity to advise Burgoyne at their conference in London to take the Lake George route and force a passage from that point to the Hudson and Mohawk. Why Burgoyne did not follow this advice has never been established. The general opinion is that Colonel Philip Skene, a Tory, who gave the British chieftain so much misinformation, proposed a direct route to Albany down the Hudson as the most feasible. It has also been said that Colonel Skene, a large landholder, saw an opportunity to get the British Army to cut a road through his estate without cost to himself. At any rate, Burgoyne's choice was made. At Fort Edward, having finally assembled his stores and equipment, he prepared to make the leap across the Hudson to the fields of Saratoga, toward which the Americans had retreated. August opened, the British invader was nearly ready to start his great push south. He was greatly encouraged by a letter which came from St. Leger, announcing his arrival August second in front of Fort Stanwix (site of the present city of Rome), at the western end of the Mohawk Valley. The great plan which was to "scissor" the rebels apart was seemingly working on schedule.

General Schuyler, too, though watching Burgoyne anxiously, was not without hope. Learning of the success of his log-felling in delaying the British progress, he renewed appeals to Congress and the neighboring states for troops and supplies. The breathing space was all important. He believed there was yet time to block the invader, if sufficient response was received.

Handicapping Schuyler's efforts at every turn, however, were his political enemies, especially General Gates, who was first and foremost a politician and did not rest until he had unseated Schuyler from his command. Gates preyed upon New England prejudices against Schuyler, which had been accentuated in part by the latter's connection with the wrangle over the New Hampshire grants. Just before the Revolution opened, there had been direct clashes between Ethan Allen's Vermonters and the authorities of New York Province and Albany County, which then legally included that territory. John Adams, magnifying the loss of Ticonderoga, asserted American arms will never succeed "until we shoot a few generals," and Congress seethed with opposition to the northern commander. His appeals for aid went largely unheeded and unheard amid this clamor.

In spite of it all, Schuyler managed to keep his courage and wrote to the Albany Committee of Safety late in July: "I thank God I have

fortitude enough not to sink under the load of calumny that is heaped upon me, and despite it all, I am supported by a presentiment that we shall still have a merry Christmas." He felt that the farther Burgoyne advanced, the more dangerous the invader's position became and the greater was the possibility of his being cut off and surrounded. A similar view was held by Washington, who at this time observed that if Burgoyne pursued a plan of sending out detachments, the patriot cause would be made easier, since these small units might be captured with more facility. Burgoyne, said Washington, "would precipitate his ruin" by that method. The predictions of Schuyler and Washington came true. But at the very moment Schuyler uttered his, Congressional enemies were forcing him out of the service of his country.

With Burgoyne at the Hudson, and only some forty-five miles to go to reach his rendezvous point with St. Leger and Howe at Albany, let us see what was going on in the Mohawk Valley. Burgoyne was now at the high point of his expedition.

St. Leger's approach from Montreal up the St. Lawrence and through Lake Ontario to Oswego had been reported by scouts. In April, Colonel Peter Gansevoort, then twenty-eight years old, commander of the 3d New York Line, had been sent by Schuyler with 750 men to garrison Fort Stanwix, at Rome, the western door of the Mohawk Valley, 110 miles from Albany. Colonel Marinus Willett, who was thirty-seven years old, was second in command. Leaving Montreal in June, St. Leger, experienced as he was, held such confidence in his own abilities and the anticipated Tory support that he did not take along his heavy artillery. He apparently envisioned an expedition in which there would be few obstacles and which might resolve itself into a pleasant stroll through the lovely valley he had been assigned to take. He had but four hundred troops when he left Montreal, these being British regulars. His allies, Sir John Johnson, Colonel John Butler, Colonel Walter Butler and Colonel Daniel Claus, had assured him that when he reached Oswego they would have plenty of men and Indians to join him. The force that finally assembled there included six hundred Tories under Sir John Johnson and three hundred or four hundred Mohawks under Brant. The invading force thus totalled one thousand three hundred or one thousand four hundred, which was somewhat enlarged a few days later. Some authorities say that St. Leger had one thousand seven hundred all told.

St. Leger's official orders to act as a right wing of the drive to Albany are of historic interest. They were dated March 26, 1777, at Whitehall, seat of the King's counselors, signed by Lord George Germain, the Colonial Secretary, and issued to General Carleton, the British commander of Canada.



St. George's Church, Schenectady

"With a view of quelling the rebellion as quickly as possible, it is become highly necessary that the most speedy junction of the two armies should be effected, and therefore, as the security and good government of Canada absolutely require your presence there, it is the King's determination to leave about 3,000 men under your command, and to employ the

remainder of your army upon two expeditions, the one under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, who is to force his way to Albany, and the other under command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, who is to make a diversion on the Mohawk river.

"As this plan cannot be advantageously executed without the assistance of Canadians and Indians, His Majesty strongly recommends it to your care to furnish both expeditions with good and sufficient bodies of those men; and I am happy in knowing that your influence among them is so great that there can be no room to apprehend that you will find it difficult to fulfill His Majesty's expectations. . . . . It is the King's further pleasure that you put under command of Colonel St. Leger:

Detachment from the 8th Regiment.....	100
Detachment from the 34th Regiment.....	100
Sir John Johnson's regiment of New York.....	133
Hanau Chasseurs	342
	675

together with a sufficient number of Indians and Canadians, and after having furnished him with proper artillery, stores, provisions and every other necessary article for his expedition, and secured to him every assistance in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him orders to proceed forthwith to and down to the Mohawk river to Albany and put himself under the command of Sir William Howe.

"I shall write to Sir William Howe from hence by the first packet; but you will nevertheless endeavor to give him the earliest intelligence of this measure, and also direct Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger to neglect no opportunity of doing the same, that they may receive instructions from Sir William Howe. You will at the same time inform them that until they shall have received orders from Sir William Howe, it is His Majesty's pleasure that they act as exigencies may require, and in such manner as they shall judge most proper for making an impression on the rebels and bringing them to obedience; but that in so doing they must never lose view of their intended junctions with Sir William Howe as their principal objects.

> "In case Lieutenant-General Burgoyne or Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger should happen to die or be rendered, through illness, incapable of executing these great trusts, you are to nominate to their respective commands such officer or officers as you shall think best qualified to supply the place of those whom His Majesty has, in his wisdom, at present appointed to conduct these expeditions."

The orders clearly reveal Germain's intention of instructing Sir William Howe to coördinate his efforts with those of Burgoyne and St. Leger, which turned out to be one of the worst miscarriages of the entire campaign. The listing of troops in the official order to accompany St. Leger evidently underwent some changes, since he had considerably less than the number directed. St. Leger, however, revealed impatience in starting, doubtless having had reports from scouts of the easy progress Burgoyne was making on the Lake Champlain-Hudson River route.

Warnings of St. Leger's approach, as Burgoyne's had done on the Hudson, stirred alarms through the valley. Thomas Spencer, Oneida half-breed Indian, who kept the patriot committees informed of the British plans, on July fifteenth urged the Americans to fell trees at Wood Creek to block the path of the invader. The call to arms to the valley residents was sounded by General Herkimer two days later, when he issued this proclamation as commander of the Tryon County militia:

> "Whereas, it appears certain that the enemy of about 2,000 strong, Christians and savages, are arrived at Oswego with the intention to invade our frontiers, I think it proper and most necessary for the defense of our country, and it shall be ordered by me as soon as the enemy approaches, that every male person, being in health, from 16 to 60 years of age, in this County shall as in duty bound, repair immediately with arms and accoutrements, to the place to be appointed by my orders, and will then march to oppose the enemy with vigor, as true patriots, for the just defense of their country. And those that are above 60 years, or really unwell and incapable to march, shall then assemble also armed, at the respective places where women and children will be gathered together, in order for the defense against the enemy, if attacked, as much as lies in their power.—But concerning the disaffected, and who will not directly obey such orders, they shall be taken

along with their arms, secured under guard to join the main body. And as such an invasion regards every friend to the country in general, but of this county in particular to show his zeal and well-affected spirit in actual defense of the same, all the members of the committee, as well as all those who by former commissions or otherwise, have been exempted from any other military duty, are requested to repair also when called to such place as shall be appointed, and join to repulse our foes. Not doubting that the Almighty Power, upon our humble prayers and sincere trust in him, will then graciously succor our arms in battle for our just cause and victory cannot fail on our side."

The sympathy the patriot cause received from the Oneida Indians was typified in the warning received from Thomas Spencer on July thirtieth by the Tryon committee. The message is given in Campbell's "Annals of Tryon County":

"At a meeting of the chiefs they tell me that there is but four days remaining of the time set for the king's troops to come to Fort Schuyler, and they think it likely they will be here sooner. The chiefs desire the commanding officers at Fort Schuyler (Stanwix) not to make a Ticonderoga of it; but they hope you will be courageous.

"They desire General Schuyler may have this with speed, and send a good army here; there is nothing to do at New York; we think there is men to be spared; we expected the road is stopped to the inhabitants by a party through the woods; we (Oneidas) shall be surrounded as soon as they come. This may be our last advice as these soldiers are part of those that are to hold a treaty. Send this to the committee; as soon as they receive it let the militia rise up and come to Fort Schuyler.

"Tomorrow we are a-going to the Three Rivers to the treaty. We expect to meet the warriors and when we come there and declare we are for peace, we expect to be used with indifference and sent away.

"Let all the troops that come to Fort Schuyler take care on their march, as there is a party of Indians to stop the road below the Fort, about 80 or 100. We hear they are to bring their cannon up Fish Creek. We hear there is 1,000 going to meet the enemy. We advise not—the army is too large for

so few men to defend the fort. (And speaking for the Indians) We send a belt of 8 rows to confirm the truth of what we say."

To this Spencer added his personal observation: "It looks likely to me the troops are near; hope all friends of liberty and that love their families will not be backward but exert themselves as one resolute blow would secure the friendship of the Six Nations, and almost free this part of the country from the incursions of the enemy."

The army Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger had composed was formidable, and before reaching Fort Stanwix had increased to about one thousand seven hundred. It was not a motley crowd, but a picked force designed especially for the kind of work mapped out for it. The British units, the 34th and King's Regiment, were calculated to inspire confidence among the valley Tories. Sir John Johnson's command, the Royal Greens and Butler's Tory Rangers included many former residents of the valley, and scouts were sent out from these detachments to increase their numbers from known friends and sympathizers. The "fifth column" element in St. Leger's army was one of its distinguishing features, since the numbers he lacked at the outset to become invincible he proposed to acquire as he moved down the valley by a rising of the loyalists. The Indian detachment under Brant was the most feared of all by the valley dwellers.

The attacks that ensued upon the fair valley went far beyond the fierceness of ordinary warfare. Such was perhaps to be expected since the invading groups all had a stake in the country they hoped to win back for the King. Sir John Johnson especially hated to lose the fine estates and high position Sir William had left him. On the other hand, because of those positions and his upbringing he could not wrest himself from the King's cause to join the people of the valley. His own attitude was far from democratic and in the clashes he had with the patriots while the conflict was in the formative stages he revealed clearly his contempt for those liberal doctrines. The Revolution in the Mohawk Valley was nearer to being a civil war than in any other region, and the atrocities were greater on that account.

Herkimer's summons to all able-bodied men and boys to join the Tryon militia in the march to reinforce Fort Stanwix met with a great response, proving how wrong the British assumptions of Toryism were. Farmers seized their guns and hurried to the appointed meeting places. To them had come the time of testing. In 1775 they had pledged themselves to save "our devoted country" from royal injus-

tice and "to be free or die." In 1776 they had written that "if called upon we shall be foremost in sharing the toil and danger of the field," and to this end they were now called in literal truth. The march of these militiamen, of all ages, up the valley must have been a dramatic sight.

So speedily did the detachment move that patriots in surrounding localities, such as Cherry Valley, did not get the message in time and were late joining the advance. Colonels Samuel Campbell and Samuel Clyde, attending a meeting of the Palatine committee, set out at once with Herkimer. Lieutenant Robert Campbell, a brother of the colonel, living part way up the Cherry Valley hills, came down, joining Colonel Cox's command, which bore the brunt of the battle of Oriskany, dying on the field. Herkimer's command, which reached a total of eight hundred men, was held in readiness to begin the march to Stanwix at the critical juncture. Meantime supplies were sent up to the fort which contributed greatly to its ability to withstand the ensuing siege. Due to its exposed position, thirty miles west of Fort Herkimer, Fort Stanwix could be completely surrounded by a foe without special difficulty, and thus cut off from the settlements it was supposed to protect. This was its great weakness, since it would have been possible for armies to sweep on past it into the valley, once it was invested. Such a tactic, however, would have required a larger force than St. Leger had. Fort Stanwix had been built in 1758 and was strongly rebuilt at the time Colonel Gansevoort took over, about $200,000 being spent on it. It had thick earth walls, which proved an effective stopper to the balls fired by St. Leger's light artillery.

Arriving before the fort August third, Colonel St. Leger promptly threw his forces around it. He thereupon issued a proclamation to the valley inhabitants notifying them that he was prepared to use all artifices of war against them, including the Indians, and they had better save themselves from his all-powerful attack. The proclamation was identical with the one Burgoyne had issued, the Lieutenant-General evidently having supplied him with a copy. There was much similarity in the positions of the two British commanders. They had both arrived at the points where they were to begin their main campaigns without encountering resistance, and this served to raise large hopes in the breasts of both that the victory would not be difficult to attain. So confident was St. Leger that on August fifth he sent a letter to Burgoyne, assuring him Fort Stanwix would speedily be his, and they would meet as prearranged at Albany.



Big Lock and City of Little Falls

That General Schuyler was fully aware of what was going on, and had been informed of St. Leger's approach, may be judged from a message he sent to the Committee of Safety, July twenty-fourth, saying:

> "If Burgoyne can penetrate to Albany, the force which is certainly coming by way of Oswego, will find no difficulty in reaching the Mohawk river, and being arrived there, will be joined by tories not only, but by every person that finds himself capable of removing and wishes to make his peace with the enemy and by the whole body of the Six Nations."

Learning that General Herkimer had started for the relief of Fort Stanwix, St. Leger sent a detachment of Indians and Tories under Brant and Colonel Butler to watch his approach and intercept him, if possible. General Herkimer, behind whom the valley patriots had rallied, assembled his men at Fort Dayton (Herkimer), dividing them into four regiments, each of about two hundred men. Colonel Ebenezer Cox commanded the 1st (Canajoharie) Regiment; Colonel Jacob Klock the 2d (Palatine) Regiment; Colonel Frederick Fisher the 3d (Mohawk) Regiment; and Colonel Peter Bellinger the 4th (Kingsland and German Flats) Regiment. They left Fort Dayton, not far from the original Herkimer homestead, on August fourth, marching up the valley. It was a force not well armed or equipped or possessing any military training of importance. Most of the men were farmers and excellent shots, but were not accustomed to military operations. Their militia drills were staged only a few times a year, so that they had only a rudimentary knowledge of tactics and little knew what to do in meeting a body of enemy.

At Deerfield, they crossed the ford at the site of present Utica, proceeding along the south side of the river, which was swampy. General Herkimer favored the south side route so that he would not have to cross again on getting to the fort. It was an unfortunate decision, since in passing through the swamp, the command had to follow virtually a single line at one point, crowded between two bluffs. The situation was ideal for their attackers and Joseph Brant selected this spot—the ravine at Oriskany—for the tragic ambush which followed.

The alarm that Herkimer's men were under way was sent to the British camp by Molly Brant, the former wife of Sir William Johnson. Since Sir William's death she had returned to her people, living at the Mohawk upper castle, between Canajoharie and Herkimer. Proof of this has been found in British documents, contained in a letter sent

by Colonel Daniel Claus, Sir William's son-in-law, and Indian leader, to the British Secretary of War, as follows:

> "The 5th of August in the afternoon, accounts were brought by Indians sent by Joseph's sister (Molly) from Canajoharie, that a body of rebels were on their way and would be within ten or twelve miles of our camp that night. A detachment of about 400 Indians was ordered to reconnoiter the enemy. Sir John Johnson asked leave to join his company of light infantry and head the whole, which was granted. Colonel (John) Butler and other Indian officers were ordered with the Indians."

That Molly suffered in retaliation for this betrayal of her valley friends appears also from one of Colonel Claus' letters, written later that year (November sixth):

> "The Indian action near Fort Stanwix, happening near a settlement of Oneida Indians in the rebel's interest, who were at the same time in arms against our party, the Six Nations Indians, after the action, burnt their houses, destroyed their field-crops and killed and carried away their cattle. This the rebel Oneidas, after our retreat, revenged upon Joseph's sister and her family (living in the upper Mohawk town) on Joseph's account, robbing them of cash, clothes, cattle, &c., and driving them from their home; then proceeded to the Mohawk's town and dealt in the same manner with the poor women and children whose husbands were in the king's service. Joseph's sister and family fled to Onondaga, the council place of the Six Nations, laying her grievances before that body. The Six Nations, with whom she had always had a great sway during the late Sir William Johnson's life-time, and even now—and I understand the Six Nations to render her satisfaction by committing hostilities upon that tribe of Oneida rebels that committed the outrages."

General Herkimer did not know or suspect that such advance notice would be given of his coming and the ambush was a complete surprise. The neglect to send out scouts as the column advanced was a fatal blunder that made possible the entrapment without a moment's preparation. A band of Oneida Indians joined the column near Whitesboro and served faithfully on the patriot side. Herkimer sent word to Gansevoort by Adam Helmer and two other scouts to be

ready to start a sortie in his direction as he approached the fort. Ganse-voort was to fire three guns on receiving the message, at which Herkimer was to advance. Helmer, reputedly the fastest runner in the Mohawk Valley, figured in another dramatic incident in the war.

For some reason, the fort signal did not reach Herkimer's men. Either the shots were not heard, or Helmer was delayed getting through the British lines. Herkimer's decision to wait until the fort responded aroused his officers. Colonel Cox and Isaac Paris, member of the Safety Committee, urged a faster movement. When General Herkimer declined to advance without assurance of coöperation, hot words followed. In the argument Herkimer was accused of cowardice. Stung by the taunt, he ordered an immediate start and did not wait even to allow scouts to proceed ahead of the main column.

An excellent description of the battle and its desperate sacrifices was given by the Hon. Ellis H. Roberts at the centennial of the struggle in 1877, and follows:

> "Herkimer led his little band on. If he had before been cautious, now he was audacious. His course lay on the south side of the river, avoiding its bends, where the country loses the general level which the rude road sought to follow, when it could be found. For three or four miles hills rose upon valleys, with occasional gulleys. The trickling springs and the spring freshets had cut more than one ravine where even in the summer, the water still moistened the earth. These run toward the river, from southerly toward the north. Corduroy roads had been constructed over the marshes, for this was the line of such travel as sought Fort Stanwix and the river otherwise than by boat. Herkimer had come to one of the deepest of these ravines, ten or twelve rods wide, running narrower up to the hills at the south, and broadening toward the Mohawk into the flat bottom land. Where the forests were thick, where the rude roadway ran down into the marsh, and the ravine closed like a pocket, he pressed his way. Not in soldierly order, not watching against the enemy, but in rough haste, the eight hundred marched. They reached the ravine at ten in the morning. The advance had gained the higher ground. Then as so often, the woods became alive. Black eyes flashed from behind every tree. Rifles blazed from a thousand unexpected coverts. The Indians rushed out hatchet in hand, decked in paint and feathers. The brave band was

checked. It was cut in two. The assailants aimed first of all to seize the supply train.

"Colonel Visscher, who commanded its rear-guard, showed his courage before and after and doubtless fought well here, as the best informed descendants of other heroes of the battle believe. But his regiment, driven northward toward the river, was cut up or in great part captured with the supplies and ammunition. In the ravine and just west of it, Herkimer rallied those who stood with him. Back to back, shoulder to shoulder, they faced the foe. Where shelter could be had two stood together, so that one might fire while the other loaded. Often the fight grew closer, and the knife ended the personal contest. Eye to eye, hand to hand, this was a fight of men. Nerve and brawn and muscle were the price of life. Rifle and knife, spear and tomahawk, were the only weapons, or the clubbed butt of the riflle. Forts or earthworks, barricades or abattis, there were none. The British force had chosen its ground. Two to one it must have been against the band which stood and fought in that pass, forever glorious. Herkimer, early wounded and his horse shot under him, sat on his saddle beneath a beech tree, just where the hill rises at the west a little north of the center of the ravine, calmly smoking a pipe while ordering the battle. He was urged to retire from so much danger; his reply is the eloquence of a hero: 'I will face the enemy.'

"The ground tells the story of the fight. General Herkimer was with the advance which had crossed the ravine. His column stretched out for nearly half a mile. Its head was a hundred rods or more west of the ravine, his rear-guard reached as far east of it. The firing began from the hills into the gulf. Herkimer closed his line on its center and in reaching that point his white horse was shot under him. Then, as today, the hills curved like a simitar, from the west to the east on the north side of the river. Fort Stanwix could not be seen, but it lay in the plain just beyond the gap in the hills, six miles distance. The Mohawk, from the mouth of the Oriskany, curves northward, so that here it is as far away in a right line, perhaps a mile in each case. The bottoms were marshy as they yet are where the trees exclude the sun. Now the New York Central Railroad marks the general direction of the march of the patriots from their starting place thither.

Then forests of beech and birch and maple and hemlock covered the land where now rich meadows extend. Even the forests are gone, and the Mohawk and the hills and the ravine and 'Battle Brook' are the sole witnesses to confirm the traditions which have come down to us.

"Through the forests Herkimer from his elevation could catch the general outlines of the battle. Some of his advance had fallen at the farthest point to which they had marched. Upon their left the enemy appeared in force, and had closed up from the southward, and on the east side of the ravine. The patriots had been pushed to the north side of the road, and those who fled sought the river. Skeletons have been found in the smaller ravine about two hundred yards west, and at the mouth of the Oriskany, an extent of a mile and a half; and gun barrels and other relics along the line of the (old) Erie Canal and down toward the river. These witnessed the limits of the battle. In the ravine, pursuing and capturing the rear guard, rushed from the forests uniformed and well equipped Johnson's Greens in their gay color, the German Chasseurs, with picked men of British and Canadian regiments, and the Indian warriors decked in war equipment. During the carnage a storm of wind and lightning brought a respite. The elements caused only a short lull. A detachment of Johnson's Greens turned their coats inside out and sought to appear as reinforcements for the patriots. They paid dearly for the fraud, thirty were quickly killed. Captain Gardenier slew three with his spear.

"Henry Thompson grew faint with hunger, sat down on the body of a dead soldier, ate his lunch, and refreshed, resumed the fight. William Merckley, mortally wounded, to a friend offering to assist him, said: 'Take care of yourself, leave me to my fate.' Such men could not be whipped. The Indians, finding they were losing many, became suspicious that their allies wished to destroy them, and fired on them, giving unexpected aid to the patriot band. Tradition relates that an Oneida maid, only fifteen years old, daughter of a chief, fought on the side of the patriots, firing her rifle, and shouting her battle cry. The Indians raised the cry of retreat, 'Oonah! Oonah!' Johnson heard the firing of a sortie from the fort. The British fell back, after five hours of desperate fight. Herkimer and his gallant men held the ground.

"The sortie from Fort Stanwix, which Herkimer expected, was made as soon as his messengers arrived. They were delayed, and yet got through at a critical moment. Colonel Willett made a sally at the head of two hundred and fifty men, totally routed two of the enemy's encampments, and captured their contents, including five British flags. The exploit did not cost a single patriot life, while at least six of the enemy were killed and four made prisoners. It aided to force the British retreat from Oriskany. The captured flags were floated beneath the stars and stripes, fashioned in the fort from cloaks and shirts; and here for the first time the flag of the republic was raised in victory over British colors.

"The slaughter at Oriskany was terrible. St. Leger claims that four hundred of Herkimer's men were killed and two hundred captured, leaving only two hundred to escape. No such number of prisoners was ever accounted for. The Americans admitted two hundred killed, one-fourth of the whole army. St. Leger places the number of Indians killed at thirty, and the like number wounded, including favorite chiefs and confidential warriors. It was doubtless greater, for the Senecas alone lost thirty-six killed, and in all the tribes twice as many must have been killed. St. Leger makes no account of any of his whites killed or wounded. Butler, however, mentions of New Yorkers (Johnson's Greens) killed, Captain McDonald; Captain Watts dangerously wounded and one subaltern. Of the Tory Rangers Captains Wilson and Hare (their chiefs after Butler) were killed.

"With such loss of officers, the death list of privates must have been extensive. The Greens lost alone thirty. In Britain it was believed as many of the British were killed by the Indians as by the militia. The loss of British and Indians must have approached a hundred and fifty killed. Eye witnesses were found who estimated it was as great as that of the Americans. The patriot dead included Colonel Cox and his Lieutenant-Colonel Hunt, Majors Eisenlord, Van Slyck, Klapsattle, Seeber and Blevin, and Captains Diefendorf, Crouse, Bowman, Dillenback, Davis, Pettingill, Helmer, Graves and Fox; with no less than four members of the Tryon County Committee of Safety, who were present as volunteers. They were Isaac Paris, Samuel Billington, John Dygert and Jacob Snell.

"Spencer, the Oneida who gave the warning to the patriots, was also among the killed. The heads of the patriot organization in the valley were swept off. Herkimer's glory is that out of such slaughter he snatched the substance of victory. In no other battle of the Revolution did the ratio of deaths rise so high. At Waterloo the French loss was not so large a ratio to the number engaged as was Herkimer's at Oriskany.

"Frightful barbarities were wreaked on the bodies of the dead, and on the prisoners who fell into the hands of the Indians. The patriots held the field at the close of the fight, and were able to carry off the wounded. Among these was the brave and sturdy Herkimer, who was taken on a litter of boughs to his home, and after suffering the amputation of the leg, died on the 17th of August, like a Christian hero. Of the dead some at least lay unburied until eighteen days later. Arnold's column rendered to them that last service.

"After the battle, Colonel Samuel Campbell, afterward conspicuous in Otsego County, became senior officer and organized the shattered patriots, leading them in good order back to Fort Dayton. The night of the fight they bivouacked at Utica. Terrible as their losses had been, only sixteen days later Governor Clinton positively ordered them to join General Arnold on his expedition with one-half of each regiment. The fighting capacity of St. Leger's army, it soon appeared, was exhausted at Oriskany. St. Leger's advance was checked. His junction with Burgoyne was prevented. The rising of royalists in the valley did not occur."

The battle had, indeed, been a holocaust for the Mohawk Valley. It was said more than half the families were in some way bereaved. Widows and orphans were sent down to Schenectady for refuge during the balance of the war, and many farms received no more attention until peace was finally declared.

St. Leger, while claiming a victory at Oriskany, realized his heavy losses, and moved quickly in the hope of breaking Fort Stanwix resistance. He sent a demand for surrender, to which Colonel Gansevoort did not reply. On August ninth St. Leger sent another letter, claiming Burgoyne had already reached Albany and asserting he (St. Leger) could not much longer hold back the Indians. In his letter the British commander wrote:

"After the defeat of the reinforcement and fate of all your principal leaders, on which naturally you built your hopes,

and having the strongest reasons from verbal intelligence, and the matter contained in the letters that fell into my hands, and knowing thoroughly the situation of Gen. Burgoyne's army, to be confident that you are without a resource; in my fears and tenderness for your personal safety from the hands of the Indians, enraged for the loss of some of the principal and favorite leaders, I called to council the chiefs of all the nations, and after having used every method that humanity could suggest, to soften their minds, and lead them patiently to bear their own losses, their answer in its fullest extent, they insisted should be carried by Col. Butler, which he has given you in the most categorical manner. You are well acquainted that the Indians never send messages without accompanying them with menaces on non-compliance that a civilized enemy would never think of doing. . . . . I am now ready to repeat what has been told you by my adjutant general. That provided you deliver up your garrison, with everything as it stood at the moment the first message was sent, your people shall be treated with every attention that a humane and generous enemy can give."

To this was added the postscript:

"I expect an immediate answer, as the Indians are extremely impatient; and if this proposal is rejected, I am afraid it will be attended with very fatal consequences, not only to you and your garrison, but the whole country down the Mohawk River; such consequences as would be very repugnant to my sentiments of humanity, but after this entirely out of my power to prevent."

In reply to these threats, Colonel Gansevoort returned the calm and brief retort:

"SIR—In answer to your letter of this day's date, I have only to say that it is my determined resolution with the forces under my command, to defend this fort, at every hazard, to the last extremity in behalf of the United American States who have placed me here to defend it against all their enemies."

It was at this time, or a few days earlier, that the garrison fashioned the crude flag of red, white and blue—material torn from a

soldier's blue coat, a sheet and a red petticoat (it is said from the dress of a sergeant's wife) and first flew the Stars and Stripes to the breeze against an enemy. A copy of the new design for the flag had been received at the fort with the last consignment of supplies before the siege.

In another attempt to bring reinforcements, Colonel Gansevoort sent Colonel Willett and Lieutenant Stockwell to work their way through the British lines to reach Albany. Schuyler, because of the grave lack of men and supplies for his Northern Army, had fallen back to Van Schaick Island, Cohoes, hoping and praying his pleas for aid would be answered. When Willett reached him, he called a council of war of his officers, and put the matter up to them of detaching a part of the command to go to Gansevoort's relief. The officers flatly ruled against weakening the main army any further. Schuyler was equal to occasion, however, and promptly exclaimed: "Gentlemen, I take the responsibility myself. Where is a brigadier that will command the relief? I shall beat up for volunteers tomorrow."

Benedict Arnold promptly asked for the duty and on August ninth eight hundred volunteers were enrolled, chiefly of General Larned's Massachusetts brigade. General Putnam ordered Colonels Van Cortlandt and Livingston from Peekskill to Arnold's aid. As they went up the valley a few days later they were joined by many of the survivors of Oriskany. Schuyler wrote to Gansevoort from Albany:

> "DEAR COLONEL: A body of troops left this place yesterday and others are following to raise the siege. Everybody here believes you will defend it to the last; and I strictly enjoin you so to do. General Burgoyne is at Fort Edward—our army at Stillwater—great reinforcements coming from the eastward and we trust all will be well and that the enemy will be repulsed."

Arnold himself proved to be skilled as a strategist. At Fort Dayton, on August twentieth, he issued a proclamation as "Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States of America on the Mohawk River," called St. Leger a "leader of banditti or robbers, murderers and traitors," and assailed the wanton cruelty of the Indians. Here he developed the ruse which proved so successful. Han Yost Schuyler, a Tory prisoner, who had been sentenced to death, was granted his freedom to enter St. Leger's camp and spread rumors that an



(From a print in the Collection of Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.)

Albany—Broadway in 1810, Looking South Toward State Street, Showing Market Place
Opposite Maiden Lane Where Patriots Were Enlisted in the Revolution

immense patriot force was on the way. Bullet holes were shot in his coat for realistic effect and two Oneida Indians were also taken into the plot. The three emissaries performed their parts so well on entering the British lines that the savages, greatly disturbed by their own losses in the Oriskany battle, became exceedingly uneasy and began to slip away. On August twenty-second, two days before Arnold's forces approached, the entire British camp broke into a wild retreat. Official reports of the affair reveal that the savages in their rage and disappointment at not being able to obtain the scalps promised them on the invasion, turned on their allies, cutting down the stragglers, scalping and mutilating them.

The garrison at Fort Stanwix, braving the long siege, and held virtually prisoners within the fort, were struck with amazement as they saw the British melting away, but fearing a trap remained within the fort. When Arnold's detachment came into sight, and they realized the enemy had gone, the fort garrison broke into cheers of wild enthusiasm. The twenty-two-day siege was lifted. The crucial menace to the valley was averted. The vanishing of St. Leger's troops seemed nothing less than a miracle. Gaily the crude bright flag snapped over the wilderness fort.

British accounts of the amazing end of the St. Leger expedition reveal the indescribable confusion as the ranks broke, and the unfortunate fate of those who fell victims of the rage of the savages. An account written in 1777 in the "British Annual Register" gave this version of St. Leger's departure from before the fort:

> "The retreat was of course precipitate, or it was rather, in plain terms, flight, attended with disagreeable circumstances. The tents, with most of the artillery, fell into the hands of the garrison. It appears by the Colonel's own account (St. Leger's) that he was as apprehensive of danger from the fury of his savage allies as he could be from the resentment of his American enemies. It also appears from the same authority that the Messasagoes, a nation of savages to the West, plundered several of the boats belonging to the army. By the American accounts, which are in part confirmed by others, it is said that they robbed the officers of their baggage and of every other article to which they took any liking and the army in general of their provisions. They also say that a few miles distance from the camp they first stripped of their arms and afterward murdered with their own bayonets, all those Brit-

> ish, German and American soldiers who from any inability to keep up, fear or any other cause, were separated from the main body. The state of the fact with respect to the relief of the fort is, that Arnold had advanced by way of Half Moon up the Mohawk river with 2,000 men for that purpose; and that for the greater expedition he had quitted the main body and arrived by forced marches through the woods, with a detachment of 900 at the fort, on the twenty-fourth in the evening, two days after the siege had been raised. So that upon the whole the intractableness of the Indians, with their watchful apprehension of danger, probably saved them from a chastisement which would not have been tenderly administered."

There is evidence that the British force in America long felt the disgrace of that sudden and inexplicable retreat. Yet it is evident the savages had suffered so severely in the Oriskany clash that they became ungovernable without their leaders and were panic stricken when Han Yost arrived with his fanciful tale that Arnold's force was as numerous as the leaves on the trees. The savages could not face another clash with the enraged Americans just then. They turned their fury on their allies. It perhaps need not be mentioned what a massacre would have descended upon the inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley had not Herkimer stopped the British advance where he did.

The wave of enthusiasm that swept over the country as word came that Fort Stanwix had been saved was electric. After the long succession of losses, with the American cause at its lowest ebb, the victory sent hopes soaring once more. Hard-pressed Washington asserted that "Herkimer first reversed the gloomy scene" of the war. Oriskany has been called the turning point of the Revolution. It preceded the battle of Bennington (Walloomsac) by ten days. By breaking Burgoyne's "right arm" it removed the possibility of that commander getting any aid from the west. From that time on, Burgoyne's fate became increasingly difficult. He found himself alone facing a steadily growing opposition.

Brave Herkimer, who fought so valiantly, was carried thirty-two miles down the Mohawk in a litter, partly by land and partly by boat, gravely wounded, a journey which must have caused intense pain. At Little Falls they took him seven miles over the Fall Hill road to his fine homestead on the south side of the river. There his leg was crudely amputated and he was greatly weakened from loss of blood. Feeling the end approaching on August seventeenth, he summoned his

family to the bedside. He opened the Bible and read aloud the Thirty-eighth Psalm, expiring a few minutes afterward. Thus passed the beloved "Hannikol." Congress voted him a monument, gave Colonel Willett a sword for his exploit in breaking through the British lines to bring up Arnold; and to Gansevoort voted thanks. As usual, Congress did nothing for Arnold, that brave and gallant but embittered man.

Even while Arnold was hastening up the valley, the second wing of the Burgoyne campaign was folding up. Four days after the Oriskany battle, Captain Donald McDonald, one of the former Tories from Johnstown, with a force of 150 Tories and Indians, arrived at Breakabeen, after circling through the southern tier, intending to come through the Schoharie Valley and join St. Leger on the way down to Albany. Apparently he still anticipated a break-through by St. Leger.

Some in the Schoharie region at the time had Tory proclivities, due to the activities of Captain George Mann, head of a militia company in that vicinity. Captain Mann was so ardent in the King's cause that he had compelled his company to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown. McDonald was routed through the Schoharie largely in the hope that other Tories would join his ranks and thus swell the grand sweep down to Albany that had been envisioned. The three Schoharie forts had not yet been erected, although two of them were begun that fall.

Colonel John Harper, member of a pioneer family in Otsego County, was stationed at Middleburg, a few miles north of Breakabeen, with a militia company. Whigs came flying in on word that Captain Mann was calling out supporters to join McDonald. Colonel Harper set out for Albany to get aid, and had a narrow escape from Tories and Indians who were scattering through the valley. He managed to outdistance them and reached Albany safely. General Schuyler assigned him a troop of twenty-eight cavalry under Captain Degolier. They made a quick trip over the Helderbergs to the Schoharie Valley, arriving the next day.

A large number of valley people had gathered at Middleburg and Harper with the cavalry and militiamen, who mounted farm horses, galloped after McDonald. Finding resistance rising, Captain McDonald had ceased to advance and took to his heels when he heard the bugles of the patriot cavalry. Colonel Harper overtook him at a place known locally as "The Flockey," near Breakabeen, and battle array was formed. So frightened were the Indians by the cavalry

charge that they broke and fled, and the Tories went pell mell after them. Captain Mann was eventually seized, jailed at Albany, and subsequently paroled, never again becoming active. Afterward his property was restored to him. Most of the other Tories also returned, but declared allegiance to the patriot cause. In the ensuing years of the Revolution, Schoharie Valley was to experience some bitter encounters with the raiders. Colonel Harper's ride for aid, in which he outwitted his savage pursuers, was one of the conspicuous feats of the war.

While the operations on the west had enabled the northern defenders to breathe more easily, the situation on the Hudson was by no means relieved. Burgoyne, having brought his supplies into order, assembled his command at Fort Edward for the final stage of the movement which was planned to carry him to Albany. His long wait of forty days to complete the advance to that point, however, had lessened his provisions and on the thirteenth of August he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Friedrich Baum, his dragoon commander, eastward toward Bennington, where he heard the patriots had rich stores of cattle, corn, and flour guarded only by militia. The opinion of the American militiaman was not high at that time, and as Burgoyne had received reports from St. Leger painting Oriskany as a royal victory, he had no particular reason to change this view.

The situation facing the American Northern Army was now desperate. The abysmal lack of support from New England and Congress had made it impossible for Schuyler to maintain a stand on anything like even footing with the invader. On August fifth Schuyler wrote to Washington from Stillwater, acquainting him of the weak condition of his forces and saying:

> "By the unanimous advice of all the general officers, I have moved the army to this place. Here we propose to fortify a camp in expectation that reinforcements will enable us to keep the ground and prevent the enemy from penetrating further into the country; but if it should be asked from whence I expect these reinforcements, I should be at a loss for an answer, not having heard a word from Massachusetts on my repeated application nor am I certain that Connecticut will afford us any success.
>
> "Our Continental force is daily decreasing by desertion, sickness and loss in skirmishes with the enemy, and not a man of the militia now with me will remain above one week longer,

> and while our force is diminishing that of the enemy augments by a constant acquisition of tories; but if, by any means we could be put in a situation for attacking the enemy and giving them a repulse, their retreat would be so extremely difficult, that in all probability they would lose the greater part of their army."

The depletion of his ranks was extremely disheartening. Burgoyne's Indian scouts were out most of the time, preying on the flanks of the American lines and causing considerable damage in their search for scalps. Schuyler's letters to the people of Albany asking for lead from the window weights had afforded a temporary supply, which was molded into bullets at Van Rensselaer's mills. Schuyler had requested it be sent up by the single box load, a clear enough indication of the thinness of his supplies.

"Desertion," he said in another letter, "prevails and disease gains ground; nor is it to be wondered at, for we have neither tents, houses, barns, boards, or any shelter except a little brush; every rain that falls, and we have it in great abundance almost every day, wets the men to the skin. We are besides in great want of every kind of necessaries, provisions excepted. Camp kettles we have so few that we cannot afford one to 20 men."

The heavy rains of which Schuyler spoke delayed Burgoyne crossing the Hudson from Fort Miller, the current being rapid and sweeping away the bridge. It was August seventeenth before he attempted it. Fraser's command reached the west bank, but was recalled. Burgoyne waited at Fort Miller until September thirteenth, forced to spend another month getting supplies from Canada after Baum's defeat at Bennington.

Nothing further having happened to improve his situation, and fearing to leave his rain-soaked army in an exposed position any longer, Schuyler on August ninth dropped down to Van Schaick Island at the mouth of the Mohawk in the present city of Cohoes, putting about thirty miles between himself and the invader. There entrenchments were thrown up, evidences of which may still be seen. General Schuyler made the Van Schaick mansion his headquarters.

"We are obliged to give way and retreat before a vastly superior force daily increasing in numbers," the General wrote to Washington, "and which will be doubled if Gen. Burgoyne reaches Albany, which I apprehend will be very soon."

The retreat to the Mohawk added final fuel to the charges of Schuyler's enemies of his lack of generalship and want of courage.

Yet at the very time when Congress was voting to relieve him of his post, Schuyler was meeting the grimmest situation of the war. While viewing his own fearsome and imperiled situation at Van Schaick Island, he received the message from Colonel Willett begging a relief expedition for Fort Stanwix, and giving news of St. Leger's defeat at Oriskany, together with the heavy American loss sustained. Foreseeing a complete disaster if Fort Stanwix should crumble, Schuyler on his own responsibility sent Arnold with a volunteer detachment up the Mohawk. The result, as we have seen, was to scatter St. Leger in flight and remove all danger from that end of the line. For this bold and courageous action and for his tireless efforts to hold the Northern Army together when things were blackest, Schuyler received no credit. The day after he dispatched Arnold's expedition, a messenger delivered to him a Congressional order relieving him of command and placing General Horatio Gates in charge of the Northern Department in his stead.

A crueler blow could not have been delivered. On August first Congress had voted to order General Schuyler off the field, and on the fourth had asked General Washington to name a successor. Washington declined, and Major-General Gates was thereupon chosen by vote of eleven states. From the tenth, when the message arrived, until the nineteenth, when Gates reached the Mohawk to take over the command, Schuyler continued in charge, with untiring energy. The tide of events had already begun to turn. The victories on the Mohawk had been followed on August sixteenth by the severe drubbing Stark gave Colonel Baum at Walloomsac, near Bennington, killing two hundred and taking seven hundred British prisoners, besides depriving Burgoyne of the provisions he badly needed.

Even Gates, who never gave others credit, admitted that the picture in the north had changed decidedly in the few days between his appointment and the time he arrived in the field. Oriskany on the sixth, Walloomsac ten days later, had made an important change in the whole course of the war. From Van Schaick Island Gates wrote to Washington on August twenty-second:

> "Upon my arrival in this department I found the main body of the army encamped upon Van Schaick's Island which is made by the sprouts of the Mohawk River joining with Hudson River, nine miles north of Albany. A brigade under Gen. Poor encamped at Loudon's Ferry, on the south bank of the Mohawk River, five miles from hence; a brigade under Gen.

Lincoln has joined Gen. Stark at Bennington, and a brigade under Arnold marched the 15th to join the militia of Tryon County to raise the siege of Fort Stanwix.

"Upon leaving Philadelphia, the prospect this way appeared very gloomy; but the severe checks the enemy have met with at Bennington and Tryon County have given a more pleasing view to public affairs. Particular accounts of the signal victory gained by Gen. Stark and the severe blow Gen. Herkimer gave Sir John Johnson and the scalpers under his command, have been transmitted to your excellency by Gen. Schuyler. I anxiously expect the arrival of an express from General Arnold, with an account of the total defeat of the enemy in that quarter. By my calculation he reached Fort Stanwix the day before yesterday.

"I cannot sufficiently thank your excellency for sending Col. Morgan's corps to this army. They will be of the greatest service to it, for until the late successes this way, I am told the army was quite panic-stricken by the Indians and their tory and Canadian assassins in Indian dresses. Horrible, indeed, have been the cruelties they have wantonly committed upon many of the miserable inhabitants, insomuch that it is now fair for General Burgoyne even if the bloody hatchet he has so barbarously used should find its way into his own head. . . . . My scouts and spies inform me that the enemy's headquarters and main body are at Saratoga (Schuylerville) and that they have lately been repairing the bridges between that place and Stillwater."

Gates indeed should have felt overjoyed that Morgan's rifle corps had been sent north. It was aid of a sort Congress had refused to give Schuyler, and which would have heartened his entire command. Morgan's was the crack regiment of the Revolution, composed of deadly sharpshooters, among whom was Timothy Murphy, who gained fame at Saratoga by picking off General James Fraser, British commander, and afterwards was the hero of Middle Fort, Schoharie.

The battle of Bennington, as it is called, though it really occurred six miles northwest of that place at Walloomsac, in Rensselaer County, transpired on August sixteenth, with devastating effect upon Burgoyne's ambitions. Like Oriskany, it was one of the decisive strokes with which Gates had nothing to do, but which reacted notably in his favor.

Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, with 521 blue-coated Hessian dragoons, together with a detachment of Indians and a few Tories, moved up the Batten Kill from Thomson toward the Green Mountains. His orders were to get horses and other supplies from Bennington or the Connecticut River region, if he had to go that far. Colonel Skene went along to stir up Tory recruits. Schuyler had sent one thousand pounds of powder to Bennington in the latter part of July, when Burgoyne had moved General Riedesel eastward to Castleton, Vermont, for provisions and to raise Tory recruits. Riedesel had been recalled to the main Burgoyne army shortly before the Baum expedition. Baum camped at Cambridge, New York, the first night. At Van Schaick's mill, near North Hoosick, Baum's advance guard struck forces under General Stark, the New Hampshire commander of the Green Mountain and New Hampshire troops forming the patriot defense. On a knoll rising about three hundred feet above the Walloomsac, Baum formed his central position and scattered redoubts over the higher ground. The patriot force rapidly increased to over one thousand eight hundred, including a group from Pittsfield, led by the famous fighting parson, Thomas Allen, who arrived in a "one-horse shay," sizzling for action.

Perceiving that he was outnumbered, Baum sent a message to Burgoyne asking for reinforcements and Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, with the German grenadiers and light infantry, with two six-pound cannon, a force of about six hundred in all, were sent from Fort Miller. This relief was slow in coming, owing to the rains which descended—the same rains which forced Schuyler finally to withdraw his entire command to the safer ground of Van Schaick's Island rather than leave them exposed at Stillwater. Soldiers in Burgoyne's army carried an immense weight, the British having each a knapsack, blanket, haversack, water canteen, hatchet, musket and sixty rounds of ammunition, all weighing about sixty pounds. The Germans were even worse off. Equipment of Brunswick dragoons included besides the other items, stiff leather breeches, huge jack boots, gauntlets which reached to their elbows, and feathered hat; a broadsword weighing about twelve pounds, and an allotment of flour for breadmaking. They also wore their hair in a queue, which was not an asset in racing through the woods. Americans, by contrast, had no surplus equipment to carry, and most had only their rifle, ammunition and ragged uniforms or buckskin costumes.

Breymann's forces slogged through the mire at snail's pace, making only eight miles the first day. He declined, however, to relax

discipline for the sake of speed and every little while stopped the ranks to reform them. As a result, Breymann did not arrive in time. On the morning of the sixteenth, which came bright and clear, Stark, who had strategically placed his force in a semi-circular front, gave the signal to advance with the memorable words: "Men, there are your enemies, the redcoats and the Tories; we must beat them or tonight Molly Stark sleeps a widow." It has been pointed out that General Stark's wife's name was Elizabeth and she was known as Bessie. Commentators generally have conceded that the slip was one due to the excitement of the moment—which was, in fact, the first clash of the embattled farmers of that region with the trained professional warriors and Indians of Burgoyne's army.

The Indians here behaved less efficiently than at Oriskany, most of them taking to their heels at the first avalanche of fire from the guns of the men of Bennington. Baum was trapped and in fierce hand-to-hand fighting unable to extricate himself. He was captured with seven hundred of his men, lost two hundred in the conflict, and himself received a fatal wound. He was buried near Shaftsbury. Stark's men were roaming over the battlefield, seizing equipment, when Breymann's forces arrived.

With difficulty the patriots were reformed by Stark and Colonel Seth Warner, and by nightfall Breymann was in retreat, escaping a withering fire in the dusk in disorder with only sixty or seventy of his men. The total loss in the attempt to reach Bennington was about one thousand men, in addition to valuable artillery and supplies. As Oriskany had crippled Burgoyne on the right, so Walloomsac delivered him a heavy blow on the left. He was still at Fort Miller when the word of this shocking loss was brought in by the survivors. The disappointment was even more pointed since Colonel Skene had once more failed in his estimate of his fellow-countrymen. In place of Tories, they had found only fierce, determined farmers, ready to defend their homes against all comers. It was during this time that Burgoyne wrote: "The New Hampshire Grants in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race on the continent and hangs like a gathering storm on my left."

Burgoyne issued a general order to his army explaining the Bennington defeat was not due to lack of gallantry but to faulty intelligence, which led Baum to approach into a trap. In a dispatch August twentieth, he indicated that Skene was pretty much to blame, though not mentioning him by name. "Colonel Baum," he said,

"was induced to proceed without sufficient knowledge of the ground. His design was betrayed, the men who had taken the oaths of allegiance—a reference to Tories Skene had signed up—were the first to fire upon him; he was attacked on all sides. He showed great personal courage but was overpowered by numbers."

The effect of the defeat became evident. Instead of being able to advance rapidly toward Albany as he had hoped—he had set "August 22 or 23" for his arrival date—he was forced to sit down and await supplies from Canada. This held him up nearly another



Hudson—Third Columbia County Court House, Erected in 1835, Razed in 1900

month. It was not until September thirteenth that Burgoyne finally crossed the Hudson to the west bank on a bridge of boats and prepared for battle. It was now a question of facing it out, or retreating, and his orders read "advance." He took up his headquarters in the Schuyler mansion at Schuylerville that night.

Now there were new thunderheads gathering about him. The Walloomsac patriot victory had spread vast encouragement through

the American camp, and New England and Mohawk areas were agog. The militia suddenly revived interest. Those whose terms had expired reënlisted and came back for a try at the Britons. The murder of Jane McCrea on July twenty-seventh at Fort Edward by a group of savages who were out scouting terrorized the countryside. The fact that she was engaged to an officer in Burgoyne's army, David Jones, and was visiting with a Tory family, the McNeils, in expectation of joining her fiancé when Burgoyne reached that point, did not minimize the effect of the brutal slaughter. The manner in which it occurred has never been cleared up, but it has been generally discounted that the Indians had been sent to bring Miss McCrea to the British camp. The probability is she was killed for her long tresses, a scalper's reward. The Indians raided her home, took her and Mrs. McNeil prisoners, and afterward shot and scalped her. Mrs. McNeil was marched to the British in a state of dishabille, where Jenny McCrea's tresses were turned over to the Indian commander for reward. Burgoyne was condemned on both sides of the Atlantic for the murder. In the vicinity it thoroughly alarmed both Tories and Whigs. Families of both rushed to Albany for safety, adding to the burdens of that already badly alarmed city. Parson Allen, of Pittsfield, toured the region urging parties to join the forces in the north, his trips including Canaan and Kinderhook, on the New York side of the border, where he found Whigs thoroughly aroused.

This stiffening of resistance had reached such proportions by September eighth that, with six thousand men in camp, and more coming daily, General Gates felt strong enough to make a forward movement. He left Van Schaick's Island headquarters and advanced to Stillwater, where he began a line of entrenchments. He soon found the land too low for his purpose, and moved two and a half miles north, where a range of hills covered by a narrow defile in front and jutting close upon the river offered an admirable defensive position. The fortification was begun at once under Kosciuszko's direction. The ground was that known locally as Bemus' Heights, named after a tavern keeper, since gone into history with the variant spelling of Bemis Heights and known generally as Saratoga Battlefield. Gates had thus moved the battle front from nine miles to thirty miles north of Albany, and the rival armies were about ten miles apart.

Here was fought the great battle of September nineteenth, when Burgoyne made a brave but ineffectual attempt to break through the American forces spread across the hillsides. Burgoyne had burned Schuyler's home and mills at Schuylerville before starting down, and

was able to find few supplies in the Saratoga vicinity. Before turning the army over to Gates, Schuyler had directed the removal of all cattle from the region, and the burning of fields of wheat to prevent their falling to the enemy. Mrs. Schuyler herself had burned the wheatfields at the Saratoga estate.

What had happened to Sir William Howe, who was at New York City with the bulk of the British command, some thirty thousand troops, was not fully revealed until long afterward. It has since been established that Lord George Germain, the British Colonial Secretary, had failed to mail the orders directing Howe to coöperate with Burgoyne, although there must have been preceding correspondence regarding it. The account as developed from documentary sources leaves no doubt that Germain was in a hurry to get away for a weekend in Kent and had held up dispatching Howe's orders, not liking the copy that had been made of them, and calling for a new one. He put the message into a pigeonhole and was so diverted over the weekend that he forgot all about it; and there it remained while Burgoyne put his head farther and farther into the noose on the Hudson.

On the twentieth of August, Burgoyne had sent a dispatch in which he plaintively noted he had only one letter from Howe and the latter was then talking about going to Pennsylvania. "No operation, my Lord," wrote Burgoyne to Germain, "has yet been undertaken in my favor; the highlands have not even been threatened." Had his orders been less positive to advance, Burgoyne said he would have waited before crossing the Hudson until he obtained southerly coöperation, or else would have returned to Canada. On August ninth Howe had already sailed south and beat up and down Chesapeake Bay, thinking to effect a landing and arouse Tories to join him. General Charles Lee is supposed to have induced him to undertake this nonsensical expedition.

There seems to be some evidence that Burgoyne himself did not realize the extent of the forces now rapidly accumulating against him on the Saratoga Heights. In the battle of September nineteenth, he advanced in three columns, without scouts, and near Freeman's Farm engaged in a major action in which Morgan's riflemen were scattered until recalled by Morgan's famous "turkey call." They were strengthened by the arrival of New York and New Hampshire regiments. Fraser's corps and Arnold, commanding New England troops, struggled for an hour, when Breymann came to Fraser's relief and saved a rout. Both sides being reinforced, the battle raged back and forth across the field, with bayonet charges. Morgan's riflemen were posted

in trees and wrought havoc among the British officers as well as the rank and file. Late in the afternoon Riedesel's command turned the tide against the Americans, folded back the American right and were preparing to advance, when Burgoyne called a halt on account of darkness. Twice during the day, as Brandow points out in "The Story of Old Saratoga," the British had been rescued from difficult situations by the German troops. As dusk fell the British retired to their breastworks, and the battle was over.

Burgoyne claimed a victory, but that was open to question. It was his objective to advance, and he had stopped short of that. Napoleon said: "It is a maxim of the military art that the army which remains in its intrenchments is beaten." In his first real engagement with the Americans, Burgoyne had lost 620 killed and wounded to an American loss of 319.

The following day the British commander prepared to resume the fight, but a heavy fog fell, and because of the exhausted condition of some of his troops, he decided to wait. The next day he had a message from Sir Henry Clinton, stating he was preparing to move up the Hudson to create a diversion on his behalf. Many opinions have held that had Burgoyne followed up the advantage of his first day's battle he would have won a decisive victory. His own report was that as dusk fell "the enemy gave ground on all sides and left us completely masters of the field."

It appeared that Howe before sailing gayly away to the Chesapeake had left instructions with Sir Henry Clinton to make an excursion up the Hudson Valley to help Burgoyne if he felt so disposed. In the absence of any direct orders, Clinton was left to his own judgment and unfortunately for Burgoyne their messages were interrupted. Clinton's letter, stating he intended to attack Fort Montgomery was dated September 12th. With the ray of hope that Clinton might come all the way up the river, Burgoyne entrenched himself and settled down. He dispatched a message asking Clinton to hurry. There was a gap of eighteen days between the first and second battles. In that time the sands were rapidly running out for Burgoyne. Clinton, with three thousand men at New York, took his time about fulfilling his promise. He did not start up the Hudson until October fifth. To head him off the patriots had built the famous iron chain which floated across the river near West Point to prevent the passage of boats. It proved entirely ineffective. Clinton took Forts Montgomery, Clinton and Constitution in the Highlands of the Hudson in three days, scat-

tered the population and terrorized the valley. His break-through at West Point after sharp resistance opened the whole Hudson Valley.

Had Burgoyne realized the success Clinton was having, the final result might have been different. But a message which Clinton sent up to him from Fort Montgomery, October eighth, reading: *"Nous y voici* and nothing between us but Gates," never arrived. The messenger fell into the hands of Governor George Clinton. Waiting as long as he dared for further word from the south, his commissariat being low, Burgoyne called a council of his officers on October sixth. Their opinions were divided. Riedesel felt they should attack at once or retreat; others seemed hesitant, although willing to risk battle. Burgoyne concluded he would move out a sizable force to determine what strength Gates now possessed and whether there was higher ground at the west which might afford a vantage point from which to assail the American camp. Burgoyne had enough supplies only to last until the twentieth. If the American force was not as strong as he expected, and there was a good route to the west, he would continue with his main body southward; otherwise, he would retreat.

But he had only the choice of retreating. The fierce engagement of October seventh, with its magnificent charge by Arnold on Breymann's redoubt in which the American was wounded, is one of the brilliant chapters of military history. The battle began about 2:30 p. m. and lasted fifty-two minutes. The advance detachment of one thousand five hundred men, with artillery, was pounced upon by an American attack from the front and both sides, and the British Army was almost immediately called up to prevent an enveloping action. Both wings fell back, but the center, held by the Germans, stubbornly remained. Fraser was ordered to form a second line to reinforce them. This movement was going forward successfully and the British were gradually pushing the Americans back, when Morgan, perceiving the critical tide of the battle, pointed out General Fraser to his sharpshooters. "That gallant officer on the gray horse," said he, "is General Fraser; I admire and respect him, but it is necessary for our cause that he should die—take your station in that clump of trees and do your duty." Or the command may have been shorter and more pointed, as one is inclined to believe. Words spoken on the field of battle would seem at least to have been more terse. But the order to pick off Fraser was given, and history credits Timothy Murphy, sharpshooter and scout par excellence, with the feat. Murphy, even in advanced age, never missed a shot. Nor did he miss this one. The

brave general, urging his men forward, received his death wound. The ethics of the shot have been debated, but military observers have accepted Morgan's order without question. War is not sporting. The death of a general may be the means of saving thousands of lives. It was in this case, since the battle terminated soon after. Arnold's famous charge on the Breymann redoubt, in defiance of Gates' orders, when he rode madly through the lines in the thick of the fight, is an epic of the struggle. After trying a direct attack, and being repulsed, Arnold swung around the redoubt, attacking from a flank which was exposed. The Brunswickers fled, leaving behind their commander, Colonel Breymann, who was slain. Arnold's horse was shot under him and he was wounded in the leg—the spot where this occurred now being marked by a monument. The infolding of this wing forced the British lines back and the arrival of three thousand militia under General Abraham Ten Broeck completed the American victory. On the night of the seventh Burgoyne withdrew to the river slightly to the north. The losses this day were about seven hundred killed and wounded for the British, 150 for the Americans.

Burgoyne hung on until October seventeenth, when, finding himself completely surrounded in the vicinity of Schuylerville and escape cut off, he surrendered. He specified in the peace terms that it should be called a "convention" rather than a "capitulation." The hostilities ceased on October thirteenth, when Burgoyne sent a flag asking for a conference with Gates. At the last moment it appeared Burgoyne was attempting to worm out of his bargain, having learned of Clinton's approach up the Hudson. Clinton had burned Kingston, where the State Government had been meeting, and advanced as far as Clermont, forty-four miles south of Albany, where he burned the home of Judge Robert R. Livingston, grandson of the first Lord of the Manor, occupied by his widow, Margaret Beekman Livingston. She promptly rebuilt it. General Vaughan, under Clinton, also burned Chancellor Robert R. Livingston's home near-by. Learning of Burgoyne's defeat on the ninth, he then turned about and withdrew hastily to New York, evidently fearing to be entrapped by the northern army which Gates sent southward following the surrender.

Thus disappeared Burgoyne's last hope. It will always be a question what would have happened had Clinton kept on to Albany. The chances were not favorable to a British victory even with this assistance. On the field of Saratoga, between the first battle on September

nineteenth and October seventh, an immense force had gathered. The country at last had responded to the danger of permitting a foe to enter Albany and become possessed of the key post on two valleys. The American force at the surrender amounted to 9,093 Continental troops and 16,000 militia, a total of about 25,000 men. It was the largest army assembled at one place during the Revolutionary War. Had Clinton attempted to attack Albany, he would likely have been annihilated before getting back to New York, unable to escape in the valley. Had the original plan been carried out, however, and Sir William Howe's main command been sent north to meet a fast-moving Burgoyne, the British action might have come to success.

The termination of the struggle was not without its pathos. General Fraser was buried on a hilltop amid a rattle of musket fire during the last hours of the engagement. Several of the women in the defeated British camp were sent over to the American lines for safe conduct to Albany. Burgoyne and his officers were offered the hospitality of Schuyler Mansion by General Schuyler, who attended the surrender formalities as a spectator in civilian dress. In a dramatic scene at Schuylerville Burgoyne handed his sword to Gates, who courteously returned it to him.

The English historian, Creasy, reviewing the battle and its aftermath, the outstanding result of which was to bring to the young Republic the aid of Holland and France, termed it one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world, and the most important.

He said:

> "Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777."

Under the terms of surrender the British Army left its camp at 11 a. m. on the seventeenth, marched down to the plain beside the Hudson and piled their arms at the command of their own officers. Witnessing this ceremony were only the American Colonels Wilkinson and Lewis. The weapons made a pile nearly three-quarters of a mile long. Fording Fish Creek, the defeated army marched past drawn up lines of the American camp, which stood in silence as they passed. The total number of troops surrendered by Burgoyne was 5,791. His officers included four members of the British Parliament. Besides these, the Americans had taken 1,856 prisoners, including sick and wounded abandoned to them.

On the first night the British Army camped at Wilbur's Basin, from which they had been driven ten days earlier. As they proceeded into this camping ground their small American escort, led by fifers, broke irrepressibly into "Yankee Doodle," the marching song which Dr. Shuckburg had written back in 1758 at Fort Crailo. The song had been turned about, in earnest. From that time it became the tune of tunes for every patriotic gathering in the war.

Charles Neilson, who wrote of the battle of Saratoga in 1844, obtaining his information from veterans of the struggle, including his father, described the surrender scene as follows:

> "In the morning of the 17th, Colonel Wilkinson (Gates' aid) was directed to visit General Burgoyne in his camp and accompany him to the green in front of old Fort Hardy, on the north bank of Fish creek, and near its intersection with the Hudson, where his army was to lay down their arms, from thence they rode to the margin of the river, which he surveyed with attention and asked whether it was not yet fordable. 'Certainly, sir, but do you observe the people on the opposite shore?' (American troops.) 'Yes,' he replied, 'I have seen them too long!' He then proposed to be introduced to General Gates and they crossed Fish creek, and proceeded to headquarters, General Burgoyne in front, with his Adjutant General Kingston and his aides-de-camp Captain Lord Petersham and Lieutenant Silford behind him; then followed Major-General Phillips, the Baron Riedesel, and other general officers and their suits according to rank.
>
> "General Gates, advised of Burgoyne's approach, met him at the head of his camp about three-fourths of a mile south of Fish creek, Burgoyne in a rich royal uniform and Gates in a plain blue frock; when they had approached nearly within sword's length, they reined up and halted. The Colonel then named the gentlemen, and General Burgoyne, raising his hat, most gracefully said: 'The fortune of war, General, has made me your prisoner'; to which the conqueror, returning a courtly salute, promptly replied, 'I shall always be ready to bear testimony that it has not been through any fault of your excellency.'
>
> "Major General Phillips thence advanced and he and General Gates saluted and shook hands with the familiarity of old acquaintances. The Baron Riedesel and the other officers were introduced in their turn.

"After the introductory ceremony was gone through, Burgoyne with his general officers was invited to the headquarters of General Gates and entertained by him at dinner. They were received with the utmost courtesy and with the consideration due to brave but unfortunate men. The conversation was unrestrained, affable and free. Indeed the conduct of General Gates throughout was marked with equal delicacy and magnanimity as Burgoyne himself admitted in a letter to the Earl of Derby.

"In that letter the captive general particularly mentioned one circumstance which he said exceeded all he had ever seen or read of on a like occasion. It was the fact that when the British soldiers had marched out of their camp to the place where they were to pile their arms, not a man of the American troops was to be seen—General Gates having ordered his whole army out of sight, that not one of them should be a spectator of the humiliation of the British troops, nor offer the smallest insult to the vanquished. This was a refinement of delicacy and military generosity and politeness, reflecting the highest credit upon the conqueror; and was spoken of by the officers of Burgoyne in the strongest terms of approbation.

"After the British troops left their encampment, and had marched to the 'green' in front of Old Fort Hardy, where they deposited their arms, and emptied their cartridge boxes; they were again formed in line, with the light infantry in front, and escorted by a company of light dragoons, preceded by two officers mounted, and bearing the stars and stripes waving triumphantly, through the American camp. On their approach, and as they marched between the long lines of victorious troops, who were then paraded on opposite sides of the road for nearly a mile in extent,

> The American Band, with cheerful sound
> Of sonorous Drum, French horn and Bugle,
> Made the neighboring hills, in joy, resound,
> To the thund'ring tune of Yankee Doodle!

"At this moment the two Generals came out of Gates' marquee together. The American commander faced front, and Burgoyne did the same, standing on his left. Not a word was spoken by either, and for some minutes, they stood silently gazing on the scene before them—the one, no doubt, in all the

pride of honest success, the other, the victim of regret and sensibility.

"Burgoyne was a large and stoutly formed man, his countenance was rough and hard, but he had a handsome figure and noble air. Gates was a smaller man, with much less of manner, and destitute of that air which distinguished Bur-



Hudson—1868 View Down Warren Street From Seventh Street

goyne. Presently General Burgoyne, by previous understanding, stepped back, drew his sword, and in the face of the two armies, as it were, presented it to General Gates, who received and instantly returned it in the most courteous manner. They then returned to the marquee.

"The British troops now filed off, with the light infantry still in advance, and the Hessians came lumbering in the rear. Their heavy caps alone were equal to the weight of the whole equipment of a light infantry soldier. It was well known that

their services had been sold by their own petty princes, that they were collected together if not caught at their churches while attending religious worship; and if we may credit the account given us, they were actually torn from their homes and handed over to the British government at so much a head to be transported across the ocean and wage war against a people of whose history and even of whose existence they were ignorant. They were found almost totally unfit for the business they were engaged in. They were unable to march through the woods and encounter the difficulties incident to movements in our then almost unsettled country. Many of them deserted to our army before and after the convention of Saratoga. There were a great many women accompanying the Germans, and a miserable looking set of oddly dressed Gypsey featured females they were.

"It is said that no insults were offered to the prisoners as they marched off, and they felt grateful for it. However, after they got out of the camp, many of the British soldiers were extremely abusive, cursing the rebels and their own hard fate. On the night of the surrender, a number of Indians and squaws, the relics of Burgoyne's aboriginal force, were quartered under a strong guard for safe keeping. Without this precaution their lives would not have been safe from the exasperated militia. Blood and carnage were now succeeded by success and plunder. The clouds of battle rolled away, and discovered hundreds of searchers after the relics of the tented field."

Neilson has left another indelible impression of the final action which ended the Burgoyne campaign. The scene of which he speaks was at the close of the battle of October seventh, when American troops received the order to halt, the British being routed. Neilson says:

"The joyful news, 'The British have retreated!' rang through the camp, and reached the attentive ears of the teamsters; and the scene that was then enacted, exhibited in its true spirit, the fire of patriotism that was kindled in the breast of every true American. No sooner had the exhilarating news reached these men, though in a subordinate station, than they all with one accord, off with their hats—swung them around their heads, and gave three long, loud and deafening cheers,

Huzzah! Huzzah! Huzzah! which, being wafted as on the wings of the wind, was transmitted with such rapidity from one to another that by the time the victorious troops retired from the field of battle, and returned to quarters, much elated with their success, the American camp was thronged with inhabitants from the surrounding country, and presented a scene of complicated horror and exultation. In one part, the harmonious sound of drums, the exhilarating tone of fifes, here and there, groups of soldiers shouting for victory! victory! and all eager for another contest, gave animation and spirit to the scene; while in another, the hailing of sentinels, the rapidly moving of lights, the piercing cries of the wounded, and the doleful groans of the dying, proclaimed in language too plain to be misunderstood the complicated horrors of war!

"Accompanying the American army were a great number of women, principally foreigners, many of whom had husbands or brothers in the action, and many who followed merely for the sake of plunder, as was manifested during the night after the action of the seventh October. The next morning after the battle, every man that was left dead on the field, and even those who were supposed to be mortally wounded, and not yet dead, but helpless, were found stript of their clothing, which rendered it almost impossible to distinguish between American and British.

"But during the action, a heart-rending and yet to some a laughable scene took place in the American camp and probably the same in the British. In the heat of battle, and while the cannon were constantly roaring like oft peals of distant thunder and making the earth to quake from its very foundation, some of those women, wringing their hands apparently in the utmost distress, and frantically tearing their hair in the agony of their feelings, were heard to cry out, in the most lamentable exclamations: 'Och, my husband! my poor husband! Lord spare my poor husband!' which would be often repeated and sometimes by fifteen or twenty voices at once; while the more hardened ones, and those rejoicing in the prospect of plunder, would break out in blasphemous imprecations, exclaiming: 'Da—n your poor husband, you can get another!' And in this manner the scene continued during the action; and I have heard it observed by those who were present that they could

not help smiling, even through their tears at the pitiful exhibition."

The captured army was divided the following day, Germans being separated from the British. Brandow says the British went across the Hudson on a floating bridge at Bemis Heights, taking the old Hoosac Road to Northampton, Massachusetts, and thence to Boston. The Germans, crossing in boats at Mechanicville, reached Schaghticoke, where they camped. From that point their route was through Lansingsburgh and present Troy, Kinderhook and Claverack, thence eastward through the Berkshires to Boston by way of Springfield.

This march was long recalled by the inhabitants of the region. An eye witness to the surrender and the departure of the troops wrote that many of the Hessians had deserted to the American ranks before and after the Saratoga convention. In the march of the army southward, the Hessians brought along the only American thing they had captured—their mascots. These were wild animals of various sort. Some had young foxes, others raccoons. One had a tamed deer tripping along, and an artilleryman had a black bear on a chain.

A reference to the march of these troops through the Berkshires, appearing in Smith's "History of Pittsfield," says:

"The march of these long dreaded and now half humbled enemies through the country impressed itself strongly on the memories of the people, and still mingles largely in their vague traditions. It is indicative of the almost total absence of specie in those days, that the possession of gold and silver, in what seemed profusion, by the passing prisoners, and their readiness to spend it for such luxuries as the impoverished country afforded, was what took the most powerful hold of the Berkshire folk; and this to such a degree as to tinge some of the legends which they handed down with superstitions akin to those which attach to the piratical hoards of Captain Kidd. Men, at a not very remote date, have been known to engage in the search for hidden treasures along the route of Burgoyne's men."

Accepting Schuyler's invitation, Burgoyne and nineteen officers were escorted by General Glover and aids to Albany, going over Broadway past the famous Stadt Huys to Schuyler Mansion at the south end of the city. Simms, the frontier historian, relates an anecdote which became current that Burgoyne, while on his way down

from Ticonderoga, had boasted he would "make the rebels give me plenty of elbow room" when he got to Albany. On the general's actual arrival there, said Simms, an Irishman with a brogue standing in Market Street (Broadway) as the cavalcade came by, leaped in front and began pushing people back to the sidelines, shouting to them to "stand back and give Gineral Bergine plenty of elbow room —or I'll murder every mother's son of ye." The crowd enjoyed the sally, but the "proud General was not a little disconcerted."

At the mansion, the prisoners were received courteously, and a suite placed at their disposal. Burgoyne remained until October twenty-sixth, when he left for Boston under the terms of the convention. On his departure he presented Schuyler's daughter Margaret with a pair of diamond shoe buckles. Burgoyne, when making his defense in Parliament of his loss of the campaign, paid a high compliment to Schuyler's courtesy. Burgoyne, after the surrender, had apologized to Schuyler for burning his mansion and other property at Saratoga, valued at many thousands of dollars. To which Schuyler replied: "Think no more of it, General; the occasion justified it according to the rules of war." Similar testimony to Schuyler's magnanimity has been given by Baroness Riedesel, wife of the Hessian commander, who with her children was sent in Schuyler's own carriage from the battlefield. He sent Colonel Varick to notify Mrs. Schuyler that the Baroness and her children and the captured officers were to be entertained there. Burgoyne, himself, greatly impressed by Schuyler's hospitality, became a parliamentary friend of the American cause.

The tribute of Burgoyne to Schuyler in the official account of the expedition was as follows:

> "He (Schuyler) sent an aide-de-camp to conduct me to Albany in order, as he expressed it, to procure better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. That gentleman conducted me to Mrs. Schuyler and her family. In that house I remained during my whole stay in Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other possible demonstration of hospitality."

Schuyler's strength of character which enabled him to endure the slights put upon him during the war, has become more apparent as study has disclosed the pertinent circumstances. Gates, who was the official commander at the battle of Saratoga, notoriously remained in his tent at the rear during most of the engagement and was said to

have spent a considerable amount of time debating the American cause with a captured British officer who had been brought to him. He was rarely seen in the open during a battle and once retreated under fire. After adding Saratoga to his laurels he sought to advance himself even at the expense of Washington, in which he was totally disappointed. He was accused of failing to mention Arnold in his official report of the Saratoga victory, although Arnold's confrères testified that it was the latter's gallantry that turned the battle's tide.

Daniel Webster once remarked, paying tribute to General Schuyler: "I was brought up with New England prejudices against him, but I consider him as only second to Washington in the services he rendered to the country in the war of the Revolution."

The celebration of the defeat of Burgoyne in Albany was both loud and heartfelt. Bells were rung, bonfires set. On the hilltop, where the Capitol stands, a huge pyre was made. Cannon were fired, and there was an ox roast. People of the town, hovering between despair and hope, huddled into cramped quarters and long distracted, wept with joy. In other communities, too, the removal of the menace from the north occasioned heartfelt thanks. The incidents of the days when the Committee of Safety bent every effort to aid the troops, and the populace anxiously counted the arrivals going north, have largely escaped recording. The big wooden hospitals along Lodge Street were filled with wounded officers and men, as were many private houses and the churches.

The Stadt Huys and the fort on the hill were crowded with Tories. Every person entering or leaving the city was under watch. Commissaries' men toiled laboriously night and day getting supplies up to the front, only thirty miles off. A hint of what went on in the city during the crucial year 1777 is told in the minutes of the Albany Committee of Safety, as summarized by Professor Tenney:

> "January 21, 1777—*Resolved,* That every person who shall offer anything for Sale for a less sum in Gold or Silver than in Continental or other paper money now passing currently, shall be considered as a Depreciator of the paper Currency, and treated accordingly, and that any Person who shall refuse to take the same shall be treated in like manner.
>
> "February 3d—*Resolved,* That the Deputies of this County in Convention be instructed to use their influence to have General Schuyler appointed one of the delegates to represent this State in Continental Congress.

"March 4th—*Resolved,* That all officers in this County belonging to the Crown of Great Britain at either full or half-pay, be sent for; and on their appearance, that they be sent to the Convention of this State, Requesting them to have them exchanged or ordered to such place that they may do no injury in this country.

"April 11th—*Resolved,* That Jacob Kidney be and he is hereby ordered every Sunday during Divine service to Patrol the Streets of this City and quell all riots and disturbances and keep the inhabitants of the City and others to behave decent for which services he shall be allowed 4/ per day.

"Ordered, that Colonel Van Schaick be requested to desire Captain Finch to send out a scouting party towards the Salt Springs in order to discover a plot which it is conceived is making head in that part of the country.

"April 18th—Colonel Schuyler reported that a certain person who had given information against certain disaffected persons, was threatened to such a degree that the Committee of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck had agreed to remove him and his family to a place of safety, and that they also engaged to repay the man any damages he might sustain. Unanimously approved.

"Christian Smith, a person who has been employed in discovering the designs of our internal Enemies, having discharged his duties with faithfulness and success: Ordered, that the Treasurer shall pay said Smith Eight Pounds for his services.

"*Resolved,* that an order issue to the Treasurer to pay unto Edward Davis, or order one hundred dollars for his services in discovering a number of conspirators.

"May 19th—Abram Yates having received from the Committee of this State the sum of five thousand pounds: *Resolved,* the same be paid to Gerrit Lansing, Junr, the Treasurer to this Committee.

"June 3d—The names of the new Committee Elected were announced. *Resolved,* That John Barclay be appointed chairman; Matthew Visscher, Secretary; Gerrit Lansing, Junr, Treasurer; James Kidney, Messenger and be paid 6/ per day.

"*Resolved,* That the Keepers of the Gaols in this City be immediately ordered to make out lists of the names of the

prisoners confined in them and deliver the Keys of the said Gaols, with the lists aforesaid, to Henry J. Wendell, the Sheriff of this County.

"June 19th—*Resolved,* That the public records of this City and County be delivered into the hands of Leonard Gansevoort Esq.

"Owing to the great want of lead and the scarcity of the same, the Committee resorted to the following as one source of supply:

"*Resolved,* That Mr. Isaac D. Fonda be requested to attend the Quarter Master General, or any of his Deputies in taking all the lead out of the Cesh (*sic*) Windows in the houses and about the City, and that he use all the Caution in his power to prevent any Damage being done to the Window Ceshes, etc., etc., by the means aforesaid.

"August 4th—WHEREAS, The approach of the Enemy to the northward has caused a number of families from this Country to move into the City and a number having Milch Cows and no pastures to put them in, and it being suggested to this Board that . . . . and . . . . (who are gone over to the Enemy) have a large tract of pasture land near the City;

"Therefore, The said families are hereby empowered to put their Cows into the said pasturage, under the inspection of Cornelius Van Deusen, who will permit families of eight or more persons to put in two cows; or less than eight, one cow.

"August 10th—*Resolved,* That all inhabitants of this State, who have fled to this City for protection, and have no houses to put their families in, are hereby empowered to use such empty houses in this City as they can find.

"Adam Helmer, having, at the risque of his life, come out of Fort Schuyler to give information:

"*Resolved,* That he be paid ten pounds as compensation.

"Colonel Myndert Roseboom is hereby appointed to provide and issue provisions to such Persons—Refugees—who are not able to support themselves.

"August 14th—By minutes of this date, it appears that Leonard Gansevoort was directed by a resolution of the 1st instant to proceed to Kingston, and there deposit the Records of the City and County of Albany.

"*Resolved,* That two Companies of Rangers be raised and put under command of Captains Robert Woodworth and

George White, to quell Robberies and disloyalty in different parts of this County, the officers to receive Continental pay.

"August 21st—Patroon's Island and the farm of Courtlandt Schuyler, deceased, were designated as pasture land for cattle of refugees.

"August 30th—John Abbott was appointed to keep the town clock in repair.

"September 2d—*Resolved,* That the following persons, with their families, be sent to the Enemy in case General Gates should approve of the measure. [Several are named.]

"WHEREAS, The Legislative Body of this State are ordered to Convene at Kingston, and a Council of appointment will be chosen by ballot from the Senate to appoint persons to fill the different civil offices in this State; and as the Council may not be fully acquainted with capable persons in the different parts of this County to fill the different offices:

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the Committees of the different Districts to consult with their Constituents, and inform the Council of the names of such persons as they think most suitable, that if they meet with the approbation of the Council they may be appointed accordingly.

"September 22d—A letter from General Gates states that he expects General Burgoyne will speedily endeavor to come to Albany.

"September 29th—*Resolved,* That Doctor Malachi Treat be empowered to take into his possession the house of Abraham C. Cuyler for the Wounded and Sick Officers.

"October 9th he was authorized to use any untenanted houses for hospital purposes.

"Captain McAlpine having gone over to the Enemy, his furniture, farming utensils and Cattle were seized and sold for the public good.

"November 6th—WHEREAS, This Committee stands indebted to many persons who are in great Distress for want of the money, and as the State Treasury is in a low state:

"Resolved, That application be made to the Commissioners for Sequestering the Assetts of Persons gone over to the enemy in the Middle District of this County, for the said sum of £2,000.

"*Resolved,* That Philip Van Rensselaer, Esq., be requested to replace the Lead taken from the windows of the different houses in and about this City.

"*Resolved,* That such persons who require to speak with any of the prisoners Confined in Gaol, be permitted to do so through the hole in the Door, in the presence and hearing of the Gaolers, and that the Gaoler be allowed by the person desiring to Speak aforesaid, ¼ as compensation for his trouble.

"November 19th—*Resolved,* That a list made of the well affected persons in this District, and that said list be sent to Peter R. Livingston, with request to deliver to the order of the Chairman of this District a quantity of salt, not exceeding two quarts per Head.

"Pay roll of Captain William Winne's Company was laid before this board, amounting to £20.17.6⅓, which is allowed and ordered to be paid for services performed in apprehending a number of disaffected persons.

"November 29th—Harmanus Ten Eyck brought in a charge of £3 10s. for freight on an Iron Stove sent to Fish Kill for the use of the Convention of this State. Ordered to be paid."

While Schenectady was the scene of no military engagement during the war, it was constantly the center of Tory attentions, as was Albany. These "fifth column" operations were greatly encouraged during 1777 by Burgoyne in order to "soften" the way for his prospective occupation of Albany. These activities became exceedingly pernicious, resulting in enforced vigilance by the patriot committees and tireless activity in routing out conspiracies.

It was the discovery of a Tory plot to seize Schenectady that led to the battle of Normanskill, the only skirmish of the war which occurred in the present confines of Albany County. Information regarding a meeting of Tories with designs against the town reached the Schenectady Committee of Safety August 10, 1777. The next day their minutes contain the notation:

"Information being received that a number of Tories were coming to this place to disarm the inhabitants, Jacob Schermerhorn went in search of them and having returned brought intelligence that on the 10th inst. at night they lay at the

house of a Thom's Marall and in the morning went to one Nicholas Van Patten.

"Whereupon, resolved that Capt. Childs be acquainted therewith and requested to take a party of the Continental troops under his command and endeavor to disperse them, whichsd. Childs agreed to. Resolved, that Major Switz with a number of militia assistant Capt. Childs in routing Tories."



Philmont—Columbia County Sanitarium

Jeptha Simms, in his "History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York," published in 1845, gives this account of the skirmish that followed:

> "On the 13th of August, the same day on which Col. Harper so opportunely led troops to Schoharie, Lt. Col. Schermerhorn proceeded to Normanskill with a body of Schenectady militia, and forty Rhode Island troops—in all about one hundred men—to root up a Tory gathering at that place. The

> expedition was very successful. David Springer, a noted royalist, was killed, thirteen of his comrades captured, the remainder dispersed and confidence again restored, where all was doubt and disaffection without the loss of a single man on the part of the Americans."

It is said some of the Tories captured were hidden in the hay, but were dug out of concealment by pitchforks wielded not gently by the patriot force. The Schenectady Committee minutes report that on August twelfth Major Switz returned with Nicholas Van Patten and ten other prisoners taken in his barn, so that the engagement probably occurred on that day rather than the thirteenth, as Simms said. The prisoners were ordered into confinement. On September ninth, Van Patten was liberated by the Albany Committee of Safety "upon entering into bond with sufficient surety in the penal sum of five hundred Pounds for his future good behavior and (provided) that his sons take the oath of allegiance."

Dr. Alexander C. Flick, former State Historian, has written that the driving out of the Tories on the Normanskill was a significant event, since it marked the turn of the tide which had been running so hard against the Colonies. The victories at Oriskany and Walloomsac were within a few days of this clash so near Albany. The site of the Normanskill battle is indicated by a State marker on the Albany-Altamont Road.

While there were many other scattered Tory operations in the vicinity that year, one of the most tragic occurred near Malden Bridge, Columbia County, where Abraham Van Ness, while on furlough from military duty, was seized in his home by Tories, who took him out and fatally shot him. His brother, David Van Ness, was a militia captain. The killing caused night guards to be posted through the locality and parties were formed to chase the Tories out.

Nothing was more completely a failure than Burgoyne's attempts to bring about a general rising of British sympathizers, which is sufficient evidence of the prevailing loyalty of the entire community. Burgoyne was always being misled by estimates of the large number of Tories who were supposed to be about. Each time a demand for their appearance was made, the response was very feeble. That this was not accomplished without persistent effort appears clearly in the minutes of the Committees of Safety of Albany, Schenectady and Tryon counties, the principal records of the region, to the extent that they have been preserved.

In Schenectady a large barrack was erected in Union Street for use of Continental Line soldiers and also as a refuge for Oneida Indians after they were driven out by British raids. Five companies of militia were formed in the town, and considerable numbers served both in the Mohawk Valley and on the upper Hudson during the Burgoyne campaign. Loyalists arrested there were generally sent to Albany for disposition. After Oriskany, the Tories became less annoying. Many of the widows and orphans of the victims of that battle were housed in Schenectady, where they excited general sympathy. The Schenectady militia also figured prominently in the reprisals for Brant's Indian raids in 1778, 1780 and 1781.

The question, "Would the Tories have risen?" if Burgoyne had reached Albany was discussed by the general himself in his formal defense in Parliament on his return to England. He gave some interesting observations on the uselessness of reliance on these "supposed friends" of the British Crown.

> "The circumstance of the action at Bennington [the general stated] established a yet more melancholy conviction of the fallacy of any dependence upon supposed friends. The noble lord has said that 'I never despaired of the campaign before the affair at Bennington; that I had no doubt of gaining Albany in as short a time as the army (in due condition of supply) could accomplish the march.' I acknowledge the truth of the assertions in their fullest extent; all my letters at the time show it. I will go further and in one sense apply with the noble lord the epithet 'fatal' to the affair of Bennington.
>
> "The knowledge I acquired of the professors of loyalty was 'fatal,' and put an end to every expectation from enterprise, unsustained by dint of force. It would have been excess of frenzy to have trusted for sustenance to the plentiful region of Albany. Had the march thither been unopposed, the enemy finding the British army unsupplied, would only have had to compel the Tories to drive the cattle and destroy the corn, and the capitulation of Albany instead of Saratoga must have followed.
>
> "Would the Tories have risen? Why did they not rise around Albany and below when they found Mr. Gates' army increasing by separate and distinct parties from remote dis-

tances? They were better qualified by their situation to catch the favorable moment than I was to advise it.

"Why did they not rise in that populous and as supposed, well affected district, the German Flats, at the time St. Leger was before Stanwix? A critical insurrection from any one point to create diversion would probably have secured the success of the campaign."

CHAPTER XVII

The Revolution: Massacres and Victory

Gates' Army Withdrawn from North, Tories and Indians Launch Fierce Raids, Devastating Mohawk, Cherry and Schoharie Valleys—The Flanders Field of the Revolution—George Clinton Elected First Governor—Cobleskill, German Flats Raided—Cherry Valley Massacre, 1778, Described by Major Campbell—Clinton-Sullivan Expedition Makes Famous Portage from Canajoharie to Otsego Lake—Sir John Johnson Slays His Neighbors—Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys Decimated, 1780—Timothy Murphy Saves Middle Fort—Hanging of Schell, Helderberg Tory—Tories Attempt to Burn Albany—Last Great Raid by Ross and Butler—Mohawk Valley Desolate as Peace Arrives, 1783—Tryon Committee Bars Return of Tories—Washington's Tours of Mohawk Valley—Sketches of Revolutionary Warriors and Clergymen.

Joy over the victory of Saratoga was short-lived. Grateful as they were for the removal of the perils of the invading army from the north, which had held the region in a constant state of alarm, the inhabitants learned almost to regret the marching away of the conquered troops. Soon after the battle came to its dramatic end, the mighty Continental Army which had been assembled to block the passage to Albany was withdrawn to aid Washington's beleaguered force in the lower Hudson and New Jersey.

The northern frontier was left exposed and much of the time, except for small militia units, undefended. The disasters which followed were far more frightful to the inhabitants than Burgoyne's invasion had been. The people had known the approximate location and size of Burgoyne's army and the Continental troops and militia had protected them. Now that protection was removed. Farms and homes became open game for savage Tory and Indian raids in all seasons, without warning. The countryside along the Hudson, Mohawk, Schoharie and the Susquehanna became a human hunting ground of fierce tragedy.

It is singular that general accounts of the Revolution sometimes omit reference to the trials that the people of the New York frontier underwent from 1778 until the peace was declared in 1783. During the greater part of those five years there was scarcely a day when fresh alarms were not sounded; when Tories, Indians, deserters and other marauders did not lurk in wait to commit some fresh depredations. There were massacres throughout the region, among other places at Cobleskill, Springfield, Cherry Valley, German Flats, Sharon Springs, Fort Plain, Fonda, Johnstown, the Helderbergs, Catskills; and even in present Columbia County Tory "cowboys" waylaid patriots in guerrilla warfare. As a result of this planned slaughter, plunder and destruction, more than twelve thousand farms in the region were abandoned; the Mohawk Valley was blackened for more than fifty miles by burned homes, barns, hay and wheat fields; more than one hundred and fifty thousand bushels of wheat were destroyed. The Schoharie Valley likewise was decimated and the settlement of Cherry Valley literally blotted out in three amazingly brutal attacks.

Raids, which began in 1778, by Sir John Johnson and Butler with their cruel savages and Tories led to Sullivan's reprisals against the Indian country in 1779. These in turn led to even fiercer raids upon the outlying settlements, until the frontier was ablaze with destruction. Those who ride through the Mohawk Valley now and note its beauty may little realize that the occasional picturesque stone house or fort to be seen near the main routes of travel was in all probability the only survivor in its neighborhod of the once prosperous communities wiped out in the terror days of 1778-83. Many of the soldiers from New England, who were sent into the valley at various times to pursue the fleet-footed raiders, observed the fertility of the region, as well as the destruction, and they were among the first, when the war at last was over, to hasten thither to establish their homes and seek new fortune.

Out of such suffering was freedom won in this State, and for such reasons it is appropriate to call New York the Flanders Field of the Revolution. It was indeed the buffer State of that war. No other frontier faced rigors as severe; and even the massacre of Wyoming, in northern Pennsylvania, one of the famous holocausts of the Revolution, was carried out in order to break open a path for the successful invasion of the New York border settlements.

The State of New York had begun to function as a free and independent State on July 9, 1776, but did not elect its first Governor until the following spring, when George Clinton defeated Philip Schuyler

for the honor, in the first election. The balloting was carried on during the frenzy of preparations for opposing Burgoyne. Clinton took office July 30, 1777, at Kingston. The State Constitution had been agreed to by the convention, April 20, 1777, drawn by a committee of which Abraham Yates was chairman, and read to the public from a barrel top at Kingston. Robert R. Livingston was elected Chancellor by the Constitutional Convention, May 3, 1777; Robert Yates, Associate Justice; Egbert Benson, Attorney-General; and John Jay, Chief Justice. The Legislature, consisting of a Senate of twenty-four members and an Assembly of seventy members, on February 6, 1778, approved the Articles of Confederation by which New York became a member of the United States of America.

This Confederation has often been criticized as the weakest type of a union that could have been devised. The states were all-powerful, delegating to the Federal Government only powers they did not choose to exert themselves, or as it was officially phrased: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this confederation expressly designated to the United States in Congress assembled." It was, in fact, a "firm league of friendship" and not much more, in spite of the fact the states were still fighting a war to establish their freedom from royal rule. The Confederation had a Congress with but one house, each state having a single vote. The Congress could borrow money, but not levy taxes; it could declare war and make treaties, but could not enforce enlistment or support of the army; could settle disputes between the states, but could not compel them to accept the award. Commerce itself was regulated by the states.

Such was the first form of national government to grow out of the Albany Plan of Union of 1754. Like all the other steps towards the establishment of the Nation, union had to come gradually, and was not finally won until 1865. Independence could be won—and was won—without a stronger tie than the Confederation. Then the common cause of arms held the loose knit states together. When war was ended, as soon appeared, a stronger legal union became necessary.

Albany city government, which had been taken over by the extra-legal Committee of Safety on March 25, 1776, was reëstablished under the State of New York on February 17, 1778, when an Act was passed by the Legislature validating the irregularities in the observance of the city's ancient charter, which had been pushed to one side in the momentous confusion. The validating Act, it is interesting to note, was made retroactive to the nineteenth of April, 1775—when

the battle of Lexington occurred—revealing that the actual disturbance of the royal city officers occurred at that time.

Under this Act, the city government began functioning anew on April 17, 1778. John Barclay, who had served so ably as chairman of the Committee of Safety, was appointed the first mayor under the Republic, in accordance with the terms of the charter issued in 1686. The State Constitution had confirmed existing charters and all existing public offices, but with the difference that all was now done in the name of the free government. The other first officers of the city under the new régime were: Aldermen, John Roorbach, John Price, Jacob Lansing, Jr., Abraham Cuyler, John M. Beeckman, Harmanus Wendell; assistant aldermen, Abraham I. Yates, Matthew Visscher, Isaac D. Fonda, Jacob Bleecker, Cornelius Swits, and Abraham Schuyler. Matthew Visscher, who had been secretary of the Committee of Safety, was appointed by Governor Clinton as town clerk, clerk of the Mayor's Court, and clerk of the Common Pleas Court and Court of Sessions. Thomas Seger was named marshal and Henry Bleecker, chamberlain.

The Marquis de Lafayette, the young French general who espoused the American cause, spent the winter of 1777-78 in Albany preparing to lead an expedition against Canada, which was to have been made over the ice of Lake Champlain. The expedition did not materialize, and Lafayette turned his attention to the frontier outposts. He attended an Indian conference at Johnstown on March 9, 1778, where a futile effort was made to enlist savage support, on the theory that their opinions might have been changed by the British defeats of 1777. The Senecas did not attend. There were only a few Mohawks present and these were unfriendly; the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were the only ones to pledge support to the patriot cause.

While in Johnstown, Lafayette was solicited by some citizens of Cherry Valley and Schoharie and directed the construction of new fortifications there. Two of the Schoharie forts were built in the fall of 1777 and the old Stone Church was enclosed with palisades and a blockhouse in 1778. The new Cherry Valley fort, a strong one, was called Fort Alden, after the commander of the Massachusetts regiment stationed there.

The distressing conditions prevailing in Albany became so aggravated by spring that fears were held of an uprising among the British Tories, prisoners, Burgoyne army deserters, and others. A plot was revealed for the murder of the city guards and seizure of the fort, nipped in the bud just in time. Seven of the leaders were



(Courtesy of Schenectady Chamber of Commerce)

Schenectady—New York State Armory, Washington Avenue

seized and executed on present Capitol Hill. It is said they rode on wagons with coffins to the hilltop, hands bound behind them, and were marched to the scaffold. So nearly did the situation get out of hand that the city authorities protested to General Stark when it was reported the 150 troops stationed there were to be removed. He asked that the British prisoners be sent away. The letter, signed by Mayor Barclay, said:

> "The Common Council would beg leave to observe that the many robberies, murders and other dreadful crimes committed on the inhabitants of this City and County by deserters and prisoners from Burgoyne's army, and by the disaffected in our own Country, who are drove (*sic*) to desperation and some of them almost to starvation, renders it indispensably necessary to have a large body of regular troops to keep the villains in subjection, or go in quest of them; for, unless the militia can remain at home this year, and properly manage their summer crops, little or no support of flour and other things can the Continent derive from these parts.
>
> "Last year more than one-half of the crops were destroyed by the Army marauders, and not more than half the usual quantity sold. If the British prisoners could be moved to another place, it would break up the alarming connection kept up between them and the Tories and the negroes."

About this time young Walter Butler, eldest son of Colonel John Butler, escaped from the jail at Albany and made his way back to Canada. He had been seized in August, 1777, during the siege of Fort Stanwix, while attending a Tory rally at the Shoemaker House, in the present village of Mohawk, then used as a tavern. The entire party was captured and Butler, after a court martial, was sentenced to be shot. A stay came from Albany just in time to save his life, and he was taken there for imprisonment. Why the clemency order was issued has never been explained. Butler managed to escape in the spring and later that year launched on the career of raiding which made his name anathema throughout the border country.

It was highly important for the success of Washington's army to keep the farmers and settlers busy in the fields of the Mohawk-Hudson region in order to furnish supplies. Albany, Rensselaerwyck, Kinderhook, Schenectady, Mohawk Valley and Schoharie were among the largest contributors of wheat and flour to the Continental forces. Since the militiamen of the region were also the farmers, they had to

abandon the forts very often to harvest the crops. The work of the Indian and Tory raiders was thus made easier since they could fall silently upon unsuspecting parties in the fields, tomahawk the men and steal off with the women and children, leaving the fields ablaze behind hem. After Gates' army was moved south, there was only a minor Continental and militia force available in the outlying valleys, and generally the nearest reinforcements were at Albany. By the time these pursuers could answer an alarm, the damage had been done. The units huddled in the forts often had so few numbers that they dared not venture out against raiders, but were forced to watch helplessly while their homes, barns and crops were destroyed, their cattle driven away and their families or neighbors butchered. Not until 1781 was a strong militia commander stationed in the Mohawk.

The first indication of what was coming in the spring of 1778 was in March, when a boy was scalped near West Canada Creek. At Snyder's Bush (Manheim), a mill was burned and eight prisoners seized by British raiders soon after. These were the gentler strokes. On April 30, at Ephratah, where twenty militiamen were drilling, Tories and Indians started to burn the town and were chased away with several slain.

Straggling parties of Indians were seen hanging around the settlements on the Cobleskill, where twenty families had located. Captain Christian Brown had been named the local captain of militia with Jacob Borst as lieutenant. The settlement was near the Schoharie Valley fortifications and no fort had been built at Cobleskill. The Indian alarm resulted in a request to the Schoharie Middle Fort for aid, and a Continental detachment was sent out under Captain Patrick. Near the house of George Warner several savages were sighted, and the patriots, numbering about fifty regulars and militia, went in pursuit. They fell into a trap, were outnumbered, and twenty-two were killed. This was on June 1, 1778. Among the fallen were John Zeh, Martinus Fester, Jacob Freemire and Jacob Shafer, with Captain Patrick. The enemy loss was said to have been twenty-five. After plundering twenty buildings and burning them, the raiders left for Canada. Joseph Brant, who was in this raid, was said to have saved the life of a patriot who made a Masonic sign to him. The escaping settlers fled ten miles to Schoharie. Colonel Abraham Wemple, of Schenectady, led militia in pursuit.

The raids made so deep an impression on the inhabitants that in June, when nearly a hundred Tory families assembled in the vicinity of Fort Hunter, they were allowed to march toward Canada unmo-

lested, taking many of their belongings with them. Undoubtedly many of the men in this exodus returned with raiding parties in months following.

Brant took up station at Unadilla, a favorite starting place for his attacks on the frontier, and soon committed other atrocities.

One of these was upon the hamlet of Springfield, near the head of Otsego Lake, where the men were taken prisoners and the women and children left behind unharmed. Half the houses in the community were burned, after provisions had been stolen from them and loaded on pack horses. Two hundred head of cattle were driven away. On July 18, at Andrustown, eight miles south of German Flats, Brant struck again, killing four men and carrying off the remaining inhabitants. Here, too, homes were burned. A pursuit was organized at German Flats, but the raiders escaped and the patriots found small satisfaction in burning homes of Tories at Little Lakes.

The strategy of Brant's campaign was to operate from Oquaga, the old Indian post on the Susquehanna, below Unadilla. The valley routes of the Susquehanna branches made easy passage northeasterly to the Otsego Lake, Cherry Valley and Mohawk Valley country, while by crossing the divide from Schenevus Creek, he could come down upon the Schoharie and Cobleskill regions with similar facility.

In Pennsylvania, on the Susquehanna River, not far from the New York State border, was Wyoming, a Connecticut settlement, which had its origin at the Albany Congress of 1754, when a separate treaty was made by Connecticut delegates with some Iroquois chiefs for hunting lands there. The Indians afterwards objected to the deal, and sought to have it repudiated, claiming it had been fraudulently obtained. The location of Wyoming so near to Oquaga, where Brant now assembled his Indian bands, was a threat to that post and consequently was made the objective of an attack. This was the infamous massacre of July 2, 1778, when Colonel John Butler, three hundred Tories and eight hundred Senecas from Niagara descended on 350 patriots. The garrison foolishly decided to meet the enemy in the open rather than defend the fort. The result was a major disaster. Only sixty of the patriots got back to the fort and terrible tortures were wreaked on the victims by the savages during the night. The next day the entire post was surrendered and Butler obliterated the settlement "without trace." No further indignities, however, were imposed on the settlers.

Watchers in the Schoharie decided that it was time to strike a blow against the incursions from Unadilla. Captain William Butler,

a patriot, who had been sent to Schoharie, commanded a detachment which raided the Susquehanna and Unadilla valleys, taking prisoners and burning homes of Tory settlers.

Brant's next move, perhaps because of this resistance, was toward the Mohawk Valley. With three hundred Tories and 150 Indians, he went from Oquaga up the Unadilla to raid the German Flats section, in September. Colonel Bellinger, at Fort Dayton, had scouts out on the south side of the river, and on September seventeenth they spotted Brant's approach. Three of the scouts detoured Brant's advance detail, and sacrificed their lives in order to give Adam Helmer, runner and scout, a chance to get away and warn the people at German Flats. Helmer ran sixteen miles on this occasion, one of the notable feats of the war, and reached Fort Herkimer in time to sound the alarm. Guns were fired in Fort Herkimer and Fort Dayton to call in the settlers and, when Brant arrived, the homes were deserted. Brant spent the night scattering firebrands about the vicinity, setting ablaze farm buildings, crops and homes for ten miles along the valley. The section put to the torch was between Little Falls and Frankfort. It was estimated he drove off more than one thousand cattle, horses and sheep. In the night the settlers, huddled in the forts, could do nothing to check the marauders. They watched with helpless rage the lighting of the sky for miles around as their homes were destroyed. At daybreak a pursuit party started out, but the raiders were then well away.

Warnings that an attempt was to be made against Cherry Valley were received late in October. General Hand, commander of the Continental force at Albany, visited the Cherry Valley garrison, where he learned that the savages were gathering at Tioga. He ordered up extra troops, but they did not arrive in time. Walter Butler, who had now been made a captain of rangers, was to be in charge of this expedition, having two hundred regulars and Tories and six hundred Indians under Brant.

Cherry Valley had been settled in 1740 in the Colonial period by John Lindsay and the Rev. Samuel Dunlop, a Presbyterian clergyman and graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and was a beautiful and prosperous village. Thirty of the original Scotch-Irish settlers had come from Londonderry, New Hampshire, at the invitation of the Rev. Mr. Dunlop. They built the first church west of the Hudson. Mr. Dunlop also began a grammar school, which was attended by boys of the village as well as youths from Schenectady and Albany. This, too, was the pioneer of its kind west of the Hudson. The settle-

ment had been named for the wild cherry trees there. The region abounded in wild game and was a favorite hunting ground of the savages. When Lindsay first arrived with his family he had to break open the wilderness, and nearly died the first winter, but an Indian brought supplies to them on snowshoes. The village had about three hundred inhabitants at the time the Revolution opened, and was the principal community on the Susquehanna. The section was one which had aroused the hatred of the Tories and savages, for here lived John Moore, delegate to the Provincial Congress from Tryon County and an ardent patriot. Here also were Colonel Samuel Campbell and Major Samuel Clyde, members of the county safety committee, whc had served at the battle of Oriskany.

After the fall of Herkimer, Colonel Campbell had been the highest officer left on the field of Oriskany and at the close of the engagement was in command of the American forces. Oriskany was the battle in which the savages lost so heavily of their own chiefs. Brant, it was said, had planned to fall on the settlement in the spring of 1778, but was deterred by a false message that a militia force was coming to strengthen the garrison.

The first fort at the village had been a rude enclosure built about the house of Colonel Campbell, which stood on a side-hill. The new fort, built by Lafayette's order, was in the present village, encircling the church and the ground used then and now as a graveyard. Within its walls the people stored the valuables and took refuge in emergencies. Going to the fields, one party stood guard while the other worked to bring in the crops. The fort mounted four guns and was garrisoned by Colonel Ichabod Alden's Massachusetts regiment of the Continental Army, consisting of between two hundred and three hundred soldiers.

A further cause for the hostility of the Indians toward the settlement sprang from the raids that had been made during the summer on the Unadilla, and a taunt Captain McKean, of the Cherry Valley post, had delivered to Brant. McKean had been searching for Brant in the hope of capturing him, but not being able to do so, left a message fastened to a stick in the Unadilla Indian path. In it he challenged Brant to a combat and said if he would come to Cherry Valley, McKean would change him "from a Brant to a Goose." That Brant got the message was proved by a letter he wrote to a Tory living in Edmeston in July, in which was the postscript: "I heard that Cherry Valley people is very bold and intended to make nothing of us; they

call us wild geese, but I know the contrary." The letter bore Brant's signature.

On November sixth a letter was received by Captain Alden from Fort Stanwix, which read:

> "SIR, We were just now informed by an Oneida Indian that yesterday an Onondaga Indian arrived at their castle from one of the branches of the Susquehanna, called the Tioga. That he was present at a great meeting of Indians and Tories at that place and their result was to attack Cherry Valley, and that young Butler was to head the Tories. I send you this information that you may be on your guard."

General Hand was at Cherry Valley then and promised reinforcements, which arrived a few days after the massacre. That Colonel Alden had ample warning of what was to come is evident from this testimony. There had been so many alarms at Cherry Valley during the last two years, however, that he discounted them, and flatly refused to let the people remain in the fort for protection.

A description of the massacre of November 11, 1788, by Major Douglass Campbell, a descendant of Colonel Campbell, at the unveiling of the Cherry Valley monument in 1877, gives a clear portrayal of the devastation. Said Major Campbell:

> "The approaching force was overwhelming and yet the final tragedy might have been avoided save for the ignorance and folly of one man. The fort was large enough to contain all the inhabitants and would have afforded them a secure place of refuge.
>
> "On the 8th of November, a messenger from Fort Schuyler brought intelligence of the hostile expedition. At once the people begged leave to move into the fort for safety. But the commanding officer, Colonel Ichabod Alden, of Massachusetts, denied their prayer. The refusal was not due to inhumanity, for he himself lodged without the fort. He was simply ignorant of Indian warfare, presumptuous, and like many greater men despised the savage foe whom he had never met. Promising the inhabitants that he would take measures to advise them of the approach of danger, he put out scouts in all directions. The party sent down the Susquehanna, partaking of the disposition of their Colonel, on the evening of the ninth, kindled a fire, and lay down in peaceful sleep.

Toward day-break they awoke to find themselves surrounded and disarmed. On the night of the tenth the enemy encamped on a thickly wooded hill about a mile south-west of the village. On the morning of the eleventh, they moved from their encampment toward the fort.

"Colonel Alden and Lieutenant-Colonel Stacia, with a small guard, lodged at the house of Mr. Wells, which stood on a little eminence just below the village. The place had formerly belonged to Mr. Lindesay, and is now owned and occupied by Mr. Phelon. Some of the other officers also lodged in private houses. The enemy learning these facts from the scouts whom they had captured, disposed their force so that a party should surround the residence of each officer, while the main body attacked the fort.

"Even the elements combined against the hapless settlement. The night before snow had fallen to the depth of several inches; in the morning it turned to sleet and the air was dark and heavy. The people, trusting to the assurances of Colonel Alden, were resting quietly at home, unconscious of approaching danger. One man only was abroad. He lived several miles below the fort, and was coming to town on horseback. When a short distance from the house of Mr. Wells, he was fired upon and wounded by the Indians. Putting his horse to full speed, he turned out of his way to inform the Colonel of their approach, and then hastened to alarm the fort. Still Alden was incredulous; he thought it was but a party of stragglers, and sent out orders to call in the guard. Before his order could be obeyed, the Indians were upon him. The advance was formed mainly of the Senecas, the most untamed and blood-thirsty of the Six Nations. Now, at length, the Colonel realized the danger, and fled down the hill toward the fort. Behind him followed a fleet-footed savage, with uplifted tomahawk. Several times Alden turned and snapped a pistol at his swift pursuer, but in the damp air the treacherous weapon failed him. At last the fort was nearly gained, its doors stood open for his reception, when the Indian's tomahawk, hurled with unerring aim, cleft his skull. As he fell, the savage rushed upon him, knife in hand, and under the very muskets of the soldiers tore off his bleeding scalp.

"Meantime, at the house of Mr. Wells, a dreadful scene had been enacted. When the savages rushed in, the father of

the family was engaged in his devotions, but a Tory slew him while he knelt at prayer. With him perished his wife and mother, three children, his brother, sister, and three domestics. One daughter, endeared to all by every Christian grace, escaped from the house and sought safety behind a pile of wood. She was pursued by an Indian, who, as he approached, wiped and sheathed his bloody knife and drew his tomahawk. Having some knowledge of the Indian language, she begged piteously for life, and a Tory who had formerly been a servant of her father interceded for her, claiming to be her brother.

"With one hand the savage pushed aside the Tory and with the other smote her to the earth. Of this whole family, but one escaped the carnage. He was a young boy who was absent in Schenectady, at school. Thus his life was spared. He grew to manhood and settling in New York made the name of John Wells famous as the foremost lawyer of his time. Looking down upon the desolation of his homestead, he might have said with Logan, 'There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature.'

"Another party of Indians surrounded the house of Mr. Dunlop, the venerable clergyman whose ministrations the colony had followed from its cradle. Through the intercession of a Mohawk chief, the old man's life was spared, but only that he might witness the fiendish murder and mutilation of his wife, and the destruction of his little flock. Carried away prisoner, he was soon released, but within a year went down to his grave broken with age and sorrow.

"One other incident and I have done with these sickening details. I tell them that you may know what border warfare meant in Tryon County; that you may know what our fathers meant when they said they were 'resolved to be free or die.' A Mr. Mitchell was absent from his house when the Indians came. Finding return impossible, he fled to the woods for safety. When the fiends had departed, he approached his home and there a fearful sight awaited him. He saw before him the bodies of his wife and four children. Extinguishing a fire which had been kindled to destroy the house, he looked at his little ones, hoping that life might still remain. In one, a girl of ten or twelve years of age, a spark seemed yet to flicker; he raised her up, brought her to the door and was watching her return to life when another party of the enemy appeared. He



Albany—Albany Exchange and Museum, 1845

had hardly time to hide himself behind a log fence near by when they approached the house. From his hiding place he beheld an infamous Tory, named Newbury, bury his hatchet in the skull of the little girl. The next day the desolate father bore the five corpses to the churchyard and buried them in a common grave. I am glad to say that the following year Newbury was arrested in the Mohawk Valley as a spy, convicted on the testimony of Mr. Mitchell and hung as a common malefactor.

"The victims of the massacre numbered forty-eight in all, sixteen of whom were Continental soldiers, the rest were mostly women and children. The fort was not taken, for the assailants had no cannon and Indians rarely attempt to carry fortifications. During the day several attacks were made on it but repulsed. Outside the fort, the whole country was laid waste. Houses, barns with all their stores were burned, the cattle driven off, and nothing but smoldering ruins marked the site of the once happy settlement.

"John Moore, Colonel Samuel Campbell and Major Clyde all escaped, the first two being absent from home, the last stationed in the fort. The wife and children of Colonel Clyde escaped, fleeing to the woods, and remained hidden all day and night under a log. Mrs. Campbell with her mother and four children were made prisoners.

"As evening fell the enemy gathered up their plunder and prepared for a departure. The prisoners, drenched by the rain and with no protection against the wintry blast but the scantiest apparel, were huddled in groups and marched down the valley. About two miles below the fort they halted for the night. Around them gleamed the watch-fires of the savages; far in the distance rose the smoke from their burning homes, while within their hearts dwelt sad forebodings of the future. At length dawn broke to their sleepless eyes, and again they resumed the march. The aged mother of Mrs. Campbell, unable to keep pace with her companions, was tomahawked by her Indian guard and thrown naked by the roadside. Her daughter, bearing an infant in her arms, was driven along by the same demon with uplifted and bloody hatchet.

"The next morning a halt was called and the joyful news communicated that it had been determined to send back the

women and children. However, the families of Mr. Moore and Colonel Campbell were excluded from the act of grace, and reserved for a long and rigorous captivity among the Indians. The mothers were separated from their children, and it was not until near the close of the war that they were exchanged and reunited with their families. Eight years ago we laid to rest the last survivor of this party. A lad of six years when he was taken prisoner, he remembered almost to his death the incidents of his Indian life. During the late civil war one of his grandsons was taken by the Confederates and confined at Andersonville. As the old man heard how these prisoners were treated by their Christian captors, he used to say, that on the whole he thought the red man was the least savage of the two.

"On the morning after the massacre a party of Indians returned to glean the bloody field, but two hundred militia arrived from the Mohawk and they soon dispersed. Then followed the sad work of burying the dead. From the scattered ruins of their homes the charred and mangled corpses were gathered up. In the old churchyard a deep trench was dug, and there in a common grave most of them were laid down to eternal rest. Upon this spot we have erected our monument.

"When the inhabitants who had escaped met again at the fort, and were joined by the prisoners who had been released, it was determined to abandon the settlement. Their homes were in ashes, all their property, except the bare land, had been destroyed, and to attempt rebuilding would only invite another raid, against which, from their exposed position, they had proved so powerless. Under the circumstances most of them moved to the Mohawk Valley, and there during the continuance of the war they did noble service. In the summer the fort was given up as useless, a band of marauders applied the torch to the old church, and Cherry Valley existed only as a recollection.

"In the year after the massacre at Cherry Valley General Sullivan conducted an expedition against the villages of the Six Nations. One part of his force passing from the Mohawk to Otsego Lake dammed its waters, and floated down the Susquehanna on the flood caused by opening the dam. Turning to the west they dealt a blow to the Onondagas, the Cayugas and

the Senecas, which it was hoped might give Tryon county peace. Yet even in this very summer Cobleskill was again ravaged, and frequent murders along the frontier showed how insecure was life.

"When the Revolution had closed, the scattered and broken inhabitants of Cherry Valley returned to their deserted homes. Exiles they called themselves, and well they might. They brought back from their wanderings nothing but stout hearts and the air of freedom which they breathed. But, nothing daunted, they began life over, and soon prosperity smiled upon the little valley. They were a God-fearing people, those early patriots. When in 1775 they received a summons to a Sunday meeting of the Committee of Safety, they replied that as the business was not urgent in its character they could not forego attendance on the public worship of their God. Now that they had returned from exile, they met in the old graveyard, and there upon the soil which contained their sacred dead they reorganized their church. The first pastor was the famous Dr. Nott, of Union College."

Sergeant Newbury and Lieutenant Henry Hare, of Colonel Butler's regiment, were arrested by a fifteen-year-old scout, David Putnam, and court-martialed at Canajoharie in July, 1799. They were hanged by General James Clinton as spies. They confessed to their part in the Cherry Valley massacre before their deaths. Both were former inhabitants of Tryon County.

It is told that Colonel Butler was greatly attached to the Wells family, who were massacred, and said to a relative afterward he would have "gone miles on my hands and knees to have saved that family." John Wells, Sr., who had died prior to the massacre, had been a judge of Tryon County and friend of Sir William Johnson.

While Albany had wanted a sufficient garrison kept in the city for its protection, in the fall of 1778 there were rumors that two thousand Continental troops were to be billeted there that winter. They wrote a protest to Governor Clinton, which reveals the long hardships they had endured during the previous military occupations. The letter by the mayor and common council stated the city had undergone for nearly three years past innumerable inconveniences due to the operations of the war. Their grievances are given by Professor Tenney as follows:

"That they were among the first who stepped forth in the cause of their country, and had submitted to every privation

possible; that in their contest with the Tories, more bitter than those with the savages, and their other public services to their country, they had so wasted their substance that many of them are now reduced to the most necessitous circumstances. That the fences surrounding their grounds had been used for fuel by the continental troops, throwing their lands into commons, thus exposing their crops to destruction, while the great drought of that summer greatly diminished the necessaries of life among the citizens. That there is also a greater scarcity of fire-wood than was ever known in the city, owing to the consumption there by the troops that were last winter billeted on the inhabitants. To those who supplied them therewith, no recompense has been made.

"They further say, 'that however willing we have been, and still are, to risk our all in supporting the freedom and independence of our blessed country, we feel compelled to ask that in the distribution of the troops for winter quarters, due respect may be had for the former distresses and present sufferings of the inhabitants of Albany and its suburbs; and that, at any rate, no more troops may be allotted to us than the barracks and hospital may contain; that the strictest orders may be issued regarding stealing, pilfering, and insulting the inhabitants; and that the officers be enjoined in punishing the refractory and diobedient.'"

The devastation at German Flats, Wyoming and Cherry Valley finally convinced Washington that the border country must be relieved of its enemies. Accordingly, in the spring, he sent Colonel Van Schaick, the Fort Stanwix commander, on an expedition against the nearby Onondagas. Colonel Van Schaick destroyed the village at which the sacred council fire of the Six Nations was located, killing twelve savages and stamping out the ancient Indian abode. It was not long thereafter before the Onondagas took up the trail in earnest against the patriots, attacking Cobleskill, where nineteen Palatine families had located since the massacre. Three hundred Onondagas were in the war party. They drew the pursuing force into an ambush. Although heavily outnumbered, the patriot troops put up a stiff fight. Seven of them took refuge in a house and managed to keep the Indians from advancing until the settlers had got away. The Indians set fire to the house and all seven were burned to death.

This, however, only speeded the preparations that were being made for the Clinton-Sullivan expedition, which marked the final part-

ing of the ways between the patriots and the Iroquois, who had so long befriended the Colonies during the French wars. General Philip Schuyler, descendant of the great "Quider" whose name had been something to conjure with among the savages a half century before the Revolution, is said to have recommended the final step to Washington —a determination to carry out nothing less than the extermination of the Six Nations in New York State.

The expedition was organized under the command of Major-General John Sullivan, of the Continental Army, who had served with Washington at Valley Forge and Trenton. Second in command was Brigadier-General James Clinton, a brother of Governor George Clinton and father of DeWitt Clinton, the famous Erie Canal builder. For the expedition, five thousand Continental soldiers were detached from Washington's army the greater part of the year.

Sullivan was to move with a large body of troops through Pennsylvania to Tioga, where Clinton, with a force of one thousand five hundred, was to meet him for a raid on the western Indian villages as far as Niagara. Clinton started from Albany, assembling ordnance, ammunition and supplies at Schenectady, where he built two hundred batteaux to transport the supplies and equipment up the river. The army marched along the south shore to Canajoharie, while the supplies were poled up the rapids to that point, where a portage overland for twenty-five miles was made to Otsego Lake, en route to Tioga.

Clinton's army consisted of the 3d, 4th and 5th New York Line Regiments, 6th Massachusetts, 4th Pennsylvania Regiment, a battalion of Morgan's riflemen and some Tryon and Schenectady militia under Colonel Harper. The 3d New York was under command of Colonel Gansevoort and left with Clinton from Albany. The 4th Pennsylvania had been stationed at Schoharie and was called from there. The 6th Massachusetts had been under fire at Cherry Valley. The 4th New York Regiment, which had been at Albany, marched directly to Canajoharie by way of Johnstown and Stone Arabia, crossing the Mohawk at Fort Plain and camping west of Canajoharie. The 5th New York was stationed at Fort Plain and joined the expedition from there.

Canajoharie, the rendezvous point, was, and is, the western gateway of Cherry Valley, Otsego Lake, Sharon Springs, Cobleskill and through the Schoharie Valley, of the Catskills. Its first settlement was made by Hendrick Schrembling about 1730. Marte Janse Van Alstyne, a partner with Schrembling in the purchase of 775 acres from

Cadwallader Colden, acquired the east side of the creek in 1750, built the stone house which became a popular center for meetings of the Tryon County militia. Sixteen of these meetings were recorded there. The building now houses the Fort Rensselaer Club, and is one of the famous landmarks of the region.

On the opposite shore of the Mohawk (present Palatine Bridge), Hendrick Frey, Swiss, made the pioneer settlement, that far west, in 1689 and a stone house built in 1739 was fortified during the Revolution when it was the home of Major John Frey, chairman at times of the Tryon County Committee of Safety.

Johannes Roof's tavern was a gathering point for the expedition. Clinton arrived there June 17, 1779, and remained a week putting his supplies in order for the overland portage to Otsego Lake. Farmers in the vicinity were called to furnish oxen to haul the heavy batteaux over the one thousand two hundred-foot high divide, while the troops struggled with the heavily laden wagon trains. Three roads were used by the expedition, running out of Fort Plain and Canajoharie, and meeting at the lake twenty-five miles to the south. While the army supplies were being hauled over these primitive roads, which had to be considerably widened by felling trees, Clinton detailed detachments to stand guard and prevent surprise attacks. In crossing swamps, cribbing and corduroy were built.

The entire portage, in spite of the stupendous difficulties, was made without a setback, and no raids were made by the enemy. Camps were made at Buel, Starkville, Springfield, Brown's Hollow and Sprout Brook. The eight-horse wagons, the oxcarts and the batteaux and artillery all reached the lakeside by June 26th.

The Cherry Valley mountains, a distinctive and beautiful feature of the region, are a spur of the Helderberg escarpment of Albany County. They attain a height of two thousand three hundred feet with several of the highest eminences in the vicinity of Cherry Valley village. On old maps the mountains are listed as the "Brimstone Hills."

Roads followed by Clinton on the portage were the Cherry Valley Road to Sprout Brook, thence to the lake, which was taken by the left wing of his army. The right wing took the Otsquago trail, originally an Indian path, circled through Van Hornesville and Springfield to the lake. The center road carried the bulk of the supplies. This was known as the Happy Hollow Road and from Sprouts Brook led to Springfield, reaching Otsego Lake on the easterly side near the head. The expedition paused on July 4th to celebrate the national Independence Day. Guards were posted to protect all routes.

On reaching the lake, the batteaux were shoved into the water, cargo placed aboard and floated down the lake to the site of Cooperstown. There the army remained until August ninth, waiting for word from Sullivan. Clinton, who was an engineer, made profitable use of the delay. In order to lighten his transportation difficulties, he built a dam at the lower end of Otsego Lake, which raised the lake level several inches. There were beaver dams at the upper end, in the Little Lakes region, and he had men stationed there also. When the order came to advance, Clinton arranged the supply boats in line and cut both the beaver dams and his own dam, and the commissary and ordnance supplies went sailing down the Susquehanna on the rush of waters. This engineering feat, too, was accomplished without loss. The army marched along the river through Unadilla to the site of modern Binghamton, without sighting an enemy, and met Sullivan near Tioga Point on August 22d.

Altogether on the overland journey Clinton had a force of about two thousand, including the farmers and batteaux men. The event is considered as one of the most famous portages in war. In the Canajoharie Public Square a marker has been erected at the place where the expedition began its march into the wilderness. Clinton's regiments on this expedition numbered about 250 men each. With Sullivan's forces the entire army totalled five thousand.

The first clash came two days after they began their march up the Chemung River. At the Indian village of Newtown, near the present site of Elmira, the patriot force encountered an army of seven hundred Tories, British regulars and Indians under Brant and Colonel Butler. The latter, being outnumbered, withstood the fire until, driven in by a flanking movement, they fled precipitately. Thereafter the expedition encountered no resistance. Going up Seneca Lake the patriot army raided the chief Seneca castle on the Genesee River, near which point Lieutenant Boyd, Sergeant Parker and twenty-seven of his men were ambushed by Tories and Indians. All were slain except two, who escaped. Boyd and Parker, taken captive, were subjected to many tortures, which caused their deaths. These were almost the only fatalities of the expedition.

Everywhere on the march the Iroquois villages were wiped out, cornfields and gardens destroyed, fruit trees injured, cattle driven off or killed. The country had yielded an abundant living to the Indians, but this destruction, coming at the harvest period, brought the savages nearly to starvation that winter. In all, forty Indian villages, mostly



View of the City of Amsterdam

composed of log houses, were destroyed, along with thousands of bushels of corn and other supplies.

Unfortunately, his own supplies running low, Sullivan did not carry out his original intention of continuing all the way through the Seneca country to Niagara, the principal base of Tory-Indian operations against the frontier at that time. The Niagara fort was a strong one and the expedition had been out a long time. Being in a hostile region remote from supplies, Sullivan turned about at Geneseo and divided his forces for further raiding on the way home. He sent two detachments through the Cayuga Lake country and ordered Colonel Gansevoort to go east by way of Auburn to raid the Onondagas again and return to Fort Stanwix. On this march Gansevoort took a number of prisoners, finding a few in the Mohawk castles at the upper end of the valley. He had been ordered to destroy all Indian buildings, but was petitioned by homeless patriot victims of valley raids and permitted some of the destitute white families to occupy these humble Indian abodes until they could erect new homes of their own!

The damage inflicted upon the Iroquois by the Clinton-Sullivan expedition was tremendous. That winter it was said five thousand savages in destitute condition came to Niagara for refuge and were fed by the British. Many died during the winter, principally because of the destruction of their cornfields. This was the great failure of the expedition, that it left the enemy still alive and determined to exact a fearful revenge. Many historians attribute the particular cruelties that followed to the inability of the expedition to attain a complete conquest. In the raids which followed, as might be expected, the Cayugas and Senecas exacted remorseless punishment. They became the ready agents of the British in the campaign that then was developed to hamper the valley dwellers from raising the crops vital to the feeding of Washington's army. The enemy drive in the period 1780 to the end of the war was less to destroy the inhabitants than to devastate the fields and exterminate every crop before or after its harvesting. The record reveals how many of the attacks were made in the months of July, August, September and October, the growing and harvesting period. The flames gleaming in the night skies told repeatedly of the success of the raiders in turning into fiery furnaces the granaries and fields of the patriots. The raids served to keep the militia busy answering alarms so that the farmer-soldiers were continually pulled away from their tasks in the field, interrupting the supply lines. But though the main intent

does not appear to have been the destruction of life, the killings of innocent non-combatant persons were manifold and frequent, and many families were bereaved, taken prisoner or wiped out altogether amid scenes of wanton cruelty.

In the series of systematic raids in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys in 1780, Sir John Johnson appears definitely to have been the ring leader. If as has been said he was acting under orders of the Crown to do the greatest possible amount of damage to the patriots, he observed those orders faithfully. He was attacking a vulnerable and important point in the patriot armor. He was much more efficient in this work than would have been a regular British force unfamiliar with the region. The sympathies of the settlers, whether for or against the King, were known to him, and they were spared or suffered accordingly. At Johnstown, Caughnawaga, Fort Plain, German Flats and elsewhere there ensued battles in which patriot soldiers, generally outnumbered, waged an heroic struggle.

The Legislature, which had met at Kingston in 1777 and 1779, and Poughkeepsie in 1778, came to Albany for the first time in January, 1780, convening in the old Stadt Huys on January 27th. The sale of Tory estates forfeited to the new government was begun at this time to raise funds for defense and, by 1788, over $3,000,000 had been realized from this source. [The Act for the forfeiture of Loyalist property was passed October 22, 1779.]

A third attack was made on Cherry Valley in April, 1780, by seventy-nine Indians and Tories, who killed eight settlers who had returned there, and took fourteen prisoners. The fort had been without a garrison since the Sullivan campaign and was destroyed. The church which the Rev. Mr. Dunlop had built was burned along with the remaining houses which had survived the disaster of 1778. When the raiders left this time the little settlement was literally extinguished, and only charred timbers and gaunt masonry revealed where it had stood. No further attempt was made to reoccupy the settlement until the war was over.

Other scattered attacks were made at New Dorlach (Sharon), where eight settlers were captured, and there were raids in Ulster County, the Catskills, Ephratah and Little Falls. In May, Sir John Johnson, with a band of five hundred Tories, Indians and British troops, came down the Sacandaga trail from Montreal to Johnstown, and began a fierce reprisal upon his former fellow-townsmen. On May 21st the war party arrived in Johnstown about midnight. They immediately set to work in fiendish fashion. In this attack there

appears no doubt that it was stimulated by Sir John's personal spleen based upon loss of the family estates to the patriot government. Many of the Tories with him had a similar excuse. During the night Whigs were pulled from their beds and murdered, their homes set on fire. After completing their savage work in Johnstown the raiders went on to the Mohawk Valley and along the shore between Tribes Hill and the Noses, causing a horrible carnage. While Tory houses and farms were spared, two Loyalists were said to have been scalped by mistake.

In this twelve-mile section most of the homes were burned, cattle driven wildly off and many helpless inhabitants slain or carried away prisoner. Particularly devastating was the attack on Caughnawaga (Fonda), the place where, in 1775, the first clash of the Revolutionary War occurred in the valley. Here Sir John had gone with his cohorts to break up a crowd of three hundred patriots who were setting a liberty pole in front of Abraham Veeder's house. Here Jacob Sammons had called Sir John a liar and Sir John hit him with a whip butt. Here, too, Sir John had a struggle with Colonel Frederick Visscher during a militia training day, when riding by in a smart carriage with Lady Johnson he had called out to Visscher to dismiss his company. This was when a soldier had threatened, unless Sir John got back into his carriage, to "blow ye through." The incidents undoubtedly flashed into Sir John's mind the night of the reprisal raid. His old neighbors did not fare well at the hands of the savages and Tories. Colonel Visscher was tomahawked and scalped, but somehow survived. Douw Fonda, over eighty years old, was slain, as were other old and feeble people. The settlement which had been begun in 1713 by the Hansen brothers was practically wiped out. Douw Fonda had established a trading store there in 1750 and the Veeders and Wemples settled in the community about that time. It was the home of the Tory Sheriff White, who fired the first shot at the patriots when the war began. The Caughnawaga Reformed Church, built in 1763, survived the raid, but was taken down shortly after the Civil War. Gradually the little settlement was rebuilt after the Revolution, when once more it became an important center of valley activity. But Sir Johnson was remembered as the valley's scourge for many generations. During the Revolutionary period Major Jelles Fonda, son of the Dutch pioneer, was an outstanding figure. He built a home in 1791, which has long been a landmark in the valley. It has been said that property of Douw Fonda destroyed in the raid was valued at over $60,000.

Returning to Johnstown, Sir John dug up two barrelfuls of silverware he had buried at Johnson Hall and gave pieces of it to his soldiers to carry back to Canada after their bloody night's work. The morning after the slaughter the raiders still loitered about the hall, and local legend says Tories in the vicinity came to visit Sir John and some joined the expedition. It was Sir John's last visit to the famous hall where he had been so important a figure. Learning the militia was forming at Fort Johnson to pursue him, he fled toward Canada. Militia chased him some distance, but was not strong enough to



Albany Home of the Revolutionary General Philip Schuyler (Where General Burgoyne Was Held Prisoner After the Battle of Saratoga)

attack. From Albany, Governor Clinton took charge of an expedition to Lake Champlain in the hope of cutting Sir John off, but was unable to overtake the fleet band.

In retaliation for the aid the Oneida Indians had given the patriots, Tories and British Indians descended on the Oneida Castle in July, burning crops and destroying homes and cattle. The Oneidas, rendered destitute, were sent to live in the soldiers' barracks at Schenectady for the balance of the war. They were in the throng of those who welcomed Washington there on his tour of the Mohawk Valley.

Brant now engaged in extensive destruction of the westerly part of the Mohawk, between Little Falls and Fort Plain. Late in July some supplies were being sent up to Fort Stanwix for the garrison and, due to the presence of Indians in the vicinity, the Fort Plain garrison was ordered to accompany the supply wagons. There is a suspicion that Brant permitted his scouts to be seen for just that purpose. After the garrison left, he came down upon the region, from his base at Unadilla. His approach was discovered, and according to the legend Simms tells, the women left at the fort donned men's hats, picked up guns and proceeded to keep up a lively pretense that the fort was strongly guarded. Whether or not Brant saw through this ruse is not known, but the fort was not attacked. The destruction all about, however, was terrible to behold. Fifty-three houses were burned, three hundred head of cattle taken away, sixteen inhabitants were killed and sixty taken prisoners. The area between Fort Plain and Fall Hill was a blackened ruin. The Schenectady militia was sent in pursuit, but owing to the distance could not arrive in time to stop the damage. During the raid Cornplanter, half-breed Seneca chief, saved the life of his father, John Abeel, a Fort Plain trader, who was captured.

Only a week following the Fort Plain disaster the Tory, Adam Crysler, resident of the Schoharie Valley, appeared in his home district with eighty Tories and Indians under Brant and fell upon Vrooman's Land, as the section near Mt. Onistagrawa just south of Middleburg was called. Crysler's own house was in Breakabeen. Ben Beacraft, notorious Blenheim Tory, slaughtered one of Captain Teunis Vrooman's children. The Indians tomahawked many of the settlers and took others captive. On the second day of the march toward Niagara, Brant set free most of the women and children. Slain in the massacre were Captain Teunis Vrooman, his wife and son; Mrs. Ephraim Vrooman and her daughter.

Guards were promptly increased in the Schoharie Valley, since it now appeared this part of the frontier was in the line of major attack. The fears were soon realized. There followed one of the most dramatic episodes of the war, the brave defense of the Schoharie garrison against a much larger force. In this clash the famous sharpshooter, Timothy Murphy, attained permanent fame, preventing the disgraceful surrender of the Middle Fort, at present Middleburg, in a brave and determined manner. Distinguished for his marksmanship at the battle of Saratoga, when he was ordered to bring down the British General Fraser, Murphy's performance at Middle Fort

revealed his high personal courage. He undoubtedly saved the garrison and the settlement from massacre at the hands of the savages.

The Schoharie Valley raid, like the one at Johnstown earlier that year, was led by Sir John Johnson. He brought eight hundred men from Montreal *via* Oswego to the junction of the Susquehanna and Unadilla valleys. There, joined by Mohawks and Senecas, he struck northeasterly up the Susquehanna Valley through the present site of Oneonta and up the Charlotte, thence over the mountain pass to Panther Creek, reaching the Schoharie Valley a few miles south of the Upper Fort, near present Fultonham.

On October sixteenth they encamped about four miles from the Upper Fort. There were three main forts guarding the valley, which had a population of one thousand in a section extending fifteen miles along the banks of the Schoharie River. The Upper Fort was near Fultonham. The Middle Fort was approximately four miles away, at present Middleburg, and at Schoharie, five miles north of Middleburg, was the Lower Fort, which was an enclosure built about the new Stone (Reformed) Church of 1772. Johnson's intention had been to pass the Upper Fort in the night and attack the Middle Fort at daybreak. This strategy was based on the assumption that the Upper Fort would be reinforced, expecting to receive the brunt of the attack, thus weakening the Middle Fort. As it happened, however, the raiders passed the Upper Fort undiscovered, but John Feeck, milking his cows near the fort, heard the noises and aroused the fort, which fired an alarm gun. This was answered from the other forts, and the whole valley was alert to the attack.

The sounding of the signal upset the plans of the attackers. Scouts from the Middle and Lower Forts covered the flight of settlers as they hurried in. While Sir John had ordered the Middleburg Church spared, his Indians set it afire regardless. At eight in the morning the attack on the Middle Fort began. Three small artillery pieces were carried by Sir John and were used, but apparently to little effect.

Commanding the Middle Fort was Major Melancthon Woolsey, of Dutchess County. The garrison in the fort numbered 204, about half being militia under Colonel Peter Vrooman, serving in the 15th Regiment of Albany County Militia. This regiment was recruited from Schoharie and Duanesburg districts. Murphy had enrolled as a private in this command, his company commander being Captain John Hager. Murphy, after his brilliant service at Saratoga in July, 1778, was in a detachment of three companies of Morgan's rifflemen sent

to Tryon County to protect the settlements. The 4th Pennsylvania Regiment also was sent. Murphy was stationed at Schoharie and soon became noted as an Indian scout. He achieved a great reputation for his rapid firing ability, which was due to a double-barreled rifle he had obtained, it was said, from a Pennsylvania blacksmith. With this unique weapon he was able to escape from many a tight spot. Indians came to entertain a superstitious fear of his prowess. Murphy went on the Sullivan expedition. Afterward he returned to Schoharie instead of remaining with his old command and joined the militia regiment under Colonel Vrooman.

The fort was a square structure of timber, built around the stone house of Johannes Becker. It had an overhanging second tier or platform for the defenders to fire from and at the corners were bastions loopholed for gun and cannon fire. A wooden palisade enclosed the entire fort, within which were small log huts for refugees. The warning gun had brought all to their posts, including women, who helped to carry the ammunition and water and mould the bullets for the defenders.

The enemy surrounded the fort, set up the artillery and began pounding away. The cannon were of such small calibre, however, that little damage was done. The size of the attacking party quickly convinced Major Woolsey that the fort could not possibly hold out. The battle lasted four hours, during which he became stricken with an extreme attack of cowardice. When, after heavy volleys, the enemy sent out a flag, accompanied by a fifer playing "Yankee Doodle," with a demand for surrender, the major was ready to admit it. Murphy, however, had other ideas. He fired a shot over the heads of the emissaries, who hastily withdrew. The flag-bearers made two more tries, however, and each time Murphy blazed away, throwing up dust around them. Major Woolsey then ordered the fort to run up a white flag. Murphy promptly leveled his gun and, taking place near the flagpole, threatened to shoot any man who tried to run the white flag up. This was the rankest disobedience, but Murphy, from the work he had done on the frontier, knew what the fate of the garrison and inhabitants would be once they had surrendered.

His courage won the day. Major Woolsey, so frightened that he ran among the women of the fort and tried to conceal himself, until they threw him out, turned over the command to Colonel Vrooman. The colonel ordered a brisk fire maintained and, after a few minutes, the British concluding too strong a defense was being made, abandoned the plan of storming the fort and withdrew down the valley,

setting fire to homes and farms as they went, and scalping unfortunate settlers who had been unable to reach the forts. The actual loss to the garrison in the engagement was only one killed and two wounded, one mortally. What loss the enemy sustained was not known. Actually, the American command was down to the bottom of its powder supply and could have held out only a little while longer. But the fort was saved and another massacre averted.

The valor of Timothy Murphy that day has never been forgotten in Schoharie, where he has become a figure of legend. Describing his prowess, William W. Campbell wrote in the "Annals of Tryon County":

> "Murphy, who was of great service to the inhabitants of Schoharie . . . . had belonged to Morgan's Rifle Corps in which he had distinguished himself as a marksman. His skill in the desultory war which the Indians carry on gave him so high a reputation that although not nominally the commander, he usually directed all the movements of the scouts that were sent out, and on many important occasions the commanding officers found it dangerous to neglect his advice.
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> "His double rifle, his skill as a marksman, and his fleetness either in retreat or pursuit, made him an object both of dread and of vengeance to the Indians. They formed many plans to destroy him, but he always eluded them, and sometimes made them suffer for their temerity.
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> "He fought the Indians in their own way, and with their own weapons. When circumstances permitted he tomahawked and scalped his fallen enemy. He boasted after the war that he had slain forty of the enemy with his own hand, more than half of whom he had scalped. He took delight in perilous adventures, and seemed to love danger for danger's sake. Tradition has preserved the account of many of his exploits; but there are so many versions of the same story and so much evident fiction mixed with the truth that we shall give but a single instance as a proof of the dread with which he was regarded by the Indians.
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> "They were unable to conjecture how he could discharge his rifle twice without having time to reload; and his singular good fortune in escaping unhurt, led them to suppose that he was attended by some invisible being who warded off their bullets and sped his with unerring certainty to the mark.

When they had learned the mystery of his double-barreled gun, they were careful not to expose themselves too much until he had fired twice, knowing that he must have time to reload his piece before he could do them further injury.

"One day, having separated from his party, he was pursued by a number of Indians, all of whom he outran excepting one; Murphy turned round, fired upon this Indian, and killed him. Supposing that the others had given up the pursuit, he stopped to strip the dead, when the rest of his pursuers came in sight. He snatched the rifle of his fallen foe, and with it killed one of his pursuers; the rest, now sure of their prey, with a yell of joy heedlessly rushed on, hoping to make him their prisoner; he was ready to drop down with fatigue and was likely to be overtaken, when turning round, he discharged the remaining barrel of his rifle and killed the foremost Indian; the rest, astonished at his firing three times in succession, fled crying out that he could shoot all day without reloading."

Early historians varied considerably in their accounts of Murphy's birthplace, but Dr. Michael J. O'Brien, who has made exhaustive researches, has stated in his "Timothy Murphy" that the famous scout was born in 1751 in Minisink, New Jersey. The date of his parents' arrival in this country from Ireland is undetermined. The story of his courtship and marriage to Margaret Feeck, daughter of Johannes Feeck, a farmer of the Fultonham region, is told by Simms, the frontier historian. His suit was not favored by the family, so they eloped romantically on horseback to Duanesburg, where the marriage was solemnized, it is said, by a Presbyterian minister. The date is given as October 1, 1780, fifteen days before Johnson's war party descended upon the valley. Murphy so distinguished himself in the defense of the fort that thereafter the parental objections were removed and he was welcomed to the family fireside. Evidence indicates Timothy enjoyed considerable affluence after the Revolution as a trader and real estate dealer. He died at the age of sixty-five on June 27, 1818, and was buried in the Feeck plot in Fultonham, on the site of the Upper Fort. Afterwards the body was removed to Middleburg Cemetery, near the scene of his great heroism. The tombstone has this inscription:

Here too this warrior sire with honor rests
Who bared in freedom's cause his valiant breast.

Sprang from his half drawn furrow as the cry
Of threatened Liberty came thrilling by.
Looked to his God and reared on bulwark round
Breast free from guilt and hands with toil embrowned—
And bade a monarch's thousand banner yield
Firm at the plow and glorious in the field.
Lo! here he rests who every danger braved
Marked and honored mid the soil he saved.

In 1910 a monument to Murphy, which has a fine bas-relief bronze figure of the scout, was dedicated at Middleburg.

The beating off of Sir John's raiders undoubtedly had far-reaching effects. Had Johnson been able to take the fort, the settlers would have been massacred or taken prisoner in order to give him more leisure to complete the devastation of the valley. As it was, being unable to make a dent in the face of stiff resistance, he did not dare delay to set siege, knowing that the rest of the valley had already been alarmed.

Five miles north of Middleburg (then known as Weiser's Dorf) was Brunnen Dorf, the modern Schoharie, where the Lower Fort was built, a large enclosure of pickets about the Stone Church. Inside the palisades were huts to which the villagers fled. There was a large blockhouse.

This fort, too, set up a fierce fire as the raiders came into sight. The war party had divided on leaving Middle Fort and went in two lines down the valley, burning houses and barns and chasing off cattle and otherwise destroying property as they went. They surrounded the Lower Fort, making a short and ineffective assault. Three times a brass six-pounder was fired at the roof of the Stone Church. One ball lodged in a rafter at the junction of the roof and the side wall, and has remained a unique decoration of the edifice. The roof was kept from burning and little other damage appears to have been done. The attack lasted about an hour and a half, when the invaders gave up the attempt as a bad job. The tavern and all Whig houses along Fox Creek also were burned.

They continued on down the valley, encamping that night at the famous Indian "stone heap" on the west bank of the Schoharie at Sloansville. In view of the size of the invading party, the fort garrisons did not dare make a sortie against them, but made amends to some degree by destroying all the Tory houses in the neighborhood. Some estimates are that one hundred settlers, including a number of children, were killed in the Schoharie Valley that day, although other

authorities feel the estimate is too high. There is testimony, however, that the Indians got out of hand and ran through the farm houses, seizing a number of luckless victims who had been unable to reach any of the three forts. In these acts the Tory Beacraft was particularly ruthless.

Moving again on the morning of October eighteenth, the invaders resumed their march to the Mohawk, setting fields ablaze. They avoided Fort Hunter, at the mouth of the Schoharie, which had been a strong outpost. Nearby also were homes of numerous Tory families which were spared. The party divided at the Mohawk, one group going to the north shore and raiding between Fonda and St. Johnsville, while the other under Sir John continued on the south side. Here the destruction reached another high point, and when they went into camp near Randall that night they had obliterated practically all evidences of civilization in the region west of Fort Hunter to that point. Their savagery was resumed on October nineteenth, when they came into the vicinity of Sprakers, where the earlier raids of Brant had laid waste the farming community. Sir Johnson crossed at Keator's Rift to the north shore, joining the other branch of his detachment there and continued toward Stone Arabia without stopping. It was supposed a detachment was to meet him near Johnstown, coming from Canada, but it never appeared.

The great smoke clouds that swept the valley as Johnson left it for the heights to the north concealed many tragedies in the inhabitants' homes. Runners had brought word of the raid to Albany and General Robert Van Rensselaer had been sent out with regiments of Albany and Schenectady militia to take up the chase.

General Van Rensselaer's troops pushed rapidly up the valley and were joined at Fort Hunter by the Schoharie troops under Colonel Vrooman. Colonel Harper joined the expedition when it reached Fort Plain with a band of Oneidas. On the way up the valley General Van Rensselaer had sent word to Colonel John Brown, stationed at Fort Paris with 150 men, to march out to meet Johnson's raiders. Fort Paris was the outpost guarding Stone Arabia. Van Rensselaer's orders stated that the main patriot army would come up from the Mohawk to attack Johnson at the same time that Brown intercepted their northward passage. For an unexplained reason, Van Rensselaer did not coöperate with Colonel Brown, keeping his army marching along the Mohawk, although shots could be heard from the direction of Stone Arabia, where Brown had obediently gone to the attack.

Brown met the enemy a mile and a half north of the Mohawk just south of Fort Keyser, near the present Palatine Bridge. With his

small detachment he was no match for the fierce band of eight hundred Tories, Indians and regulars who opposed him. His little force was swept down almost instantly. He and thirty of his men were killed and the rest fled. Although General Van Rensselaer's army was twice the size of Johnson's, he made no effort to come to Brown's aid, but marching on nearly to Fort Plain halted the troops. He gave as an excuse for not crossing to the other side that he was not certain where to find a good fording place.

Then unconcernedly the general rode off to Fort Plain to dine with Governor Clinton, who happened to be there. When he returned at four o'clock in the afternoon he found his army had made the crossing, placing wagons in the stream as a bridge, and was waiting for him on the other side, anxious to go into action. The general was chided by an Oneida Indian for the delay in launching the attack and, stung by the criticism, ordered a smart advance. While the patriot army had waited for its commander, Johnson had pillaged and destroyed the settlement about Stone Arabia. Fort Paris, a half mile north of the Stone Arabia churches, was named for Isaac Paris, who was slain at the battle of Oriskany. In Stone Arabia, a settlement begun by Palatines in 1723, when a land patent was issued. The first church was built in 1729 on the site of the present Lutheran Church. A frame church was built in 1733, which became the Reformed or Dutch Church, the Lutherans taking the log edifice. Both buildings were burned in 1780 raid. The churches now standing in the village are the Reformed, built in 1788, and the Lutheran, built in 1792. In the churchyards are buried many Revolutionary heroes. A monument to Colonel Brown stands in the graveyard of the Reformed Church, with an inscription reciting his bravery. From Stone Arabia Johnson's party turned southwesterly to the Mohawk.

Once stirred into motion, General Van Rensselaer followed Sir John in earnest and in the late afternoon, as dusk was falling, his army caught up with the enemy two miles west of Palatine Church, at what became known as Klock's Field. It was near-by Fort Klock, built in 1750 by a Palatine pioneer, Johannes Klock, and was the home of Colonel Jacob Klock, commander of the Palatine Regiment of Tryon County Militia at the time of the battle. The stone house was then enclosed by palisades as a neighborhood refuge. In the cellar was a dungeon used to confine Tories. It is still one of the noted valley landmarks.

Johnson's seven hundred raiders, now wearied from their fast and arduous work, were almost ready to drop with exhaustion. They

were quickly surrounded by the enraged militia, who charged without delay, and would have made a quick end of them except for the singular conduct of their commander. Seeing his men weakening, Sir John Johnson took to his heels with a part of the detachment, including Indians and German mercenaries. He went west to Christie's Rift, and escaping to the south side of the Mohawk near Minden, headed for Oneida Lake and Oswego. The rest of the British force, as it was learned afterward, was ready to capitulate, when the American Army unexpectedly stopped fighting and began a retrograde movement. General Van Rensselaer had ordered them to suspend the



Education Building (Former Court House) Schenectady, Erected 1808

battle and retire eastward to Palatine Church to camp for the night, just when victory was imminent. The recall enabled the entire British force to escape during the night.

Palatine Church, where Van Rensselaer bivouacked, was erected in 1770 by the Palatine Evangelical Lutheran Church of the flourishing settlement which had grown up at that point. Among the donors were the Wagner, Hess and Nellis families. A mill and a tavern stood nearby prior to the Revolution. During Sir John Johnson's retreat October 19, 1780, the mill was burned and a savage was about to shoot a burning arrow into the church roof when he was stopped

by a British officer. It was said the request to save the church came from a Tory member of the Nellis family who was serving on the raid. The church thus escaped unscathed, and is one of the truly distinguished edifices of the valley. It now stands in a prominent location on the route of the ancient highway which has been in existence since Colonial times.

After the night's rest, the American Army found the enemy had flown, and there seemed to be little to do about it. General Van Rensselaer sent Colonel Vrooman and one hundred men in pursuit and they progressed so rapidly that they were taken in ambush by the retreating Britons, and carried with them to Niagara. General Van Rensselaer brought his army back to Albany, where the troops were dismissed. He was court martialed, accused of misconduct in failing to support Colonel Brown, as well as failing to continue the attack at Klock's Field, and failing to support the detachment sent out under Colonel Vrooman. The findings of the court, however, acquitted him.

At Niagara Sir John celebrated the triumph of the long raid which had been accomplished with extraordinary success, and had done vast damage to the patriot cause. Rufus A. Grider, Canajoharie authority, wrote in 1896 that the raid was "executed in masterly fashion and accomplished all Sir John Johnson intended doing except the destruction of the three forts on the Schoharie." Grider named as the objectives of the raid, considered to have been the greatest of all the Tory depredations, "the cutting off of the supplies of wheat, rye, cattle, etc., which aided in supporting General Washington's army on the Hudson River, and also the depopulation of those districts by destroying the resources of those who fed the enemies of King George."

Johnson could scarcely have achieved a more extensive destruction. It was similar in some respects to Sherman's march through Georgia in the Civil War, though the latter was not accompanied by such cruelties. The valley homes for fifty miles were reduced to charred and blackened ruins and for more than twenty miles along the Schoharie a similar penalty had been exacted against the patriots. Johnson's official report listed the destruction of thirteen gristmills, many sawmills, a thousand homes and as many barns, containing an estimated six hundred thousand bushels of grain. His grain estimate was probably high. The fields were sown again the following spring and it is told grew abundantly. Yet much of this crop suffered a similar fate. Only by extreme sacrifices on the part of the people at home was it possible to keep the army in the field supplied at all.

No section of America suffered more greatly than these valleys during the terrible raids. By 1781 it was found the Tryon County Militia had been reduced from two thousand five hundred to about seven hundred, due to death, capture or other causes. The precise number of victims of the massacres was never fully learned, but the number ran into hundreds. More than six hundred persons deserted to the enemy and some seven hundred families left their homes for other refuges. The brave efforts of the pioneers who had settled the valleys in the French-Indian days were in large part obliterated, and the flourishing region remained scarred and in numerous areas deserted except for armed militia and Continental bands until the war's end. The loss of the wheat, hay and other crops fell as a hardship upon Washington's forces, but as luck would have it, the scene of the major battle action moved to the South in 1781, where Cornwallis was attempting to gain a foothold, and the need for supplies from the North was lessened.

At the same time that the raids were going on in the Mohawk and Schoharie, Major Carleton, in October, 1780, with a thousand Indian and Tories, raided the northern section above Albany. He took Crown Point, Fort Ann and Fort George, where the main body of troops was stationed. Raiding parties descended on the lower settlements, and fears were held that Schenectady and Albany would be attacked. A detachment under Major John Munro, a former merchant of Schenectady, attacked the settlement at Ballston on October sixteenth, killed Isaac Stow, a miller; wounded one man, and took twenty-two prisoners, burning the homes and farms.

The Schoharie and Mohawk raids occasioned much alarm in Albany and Schenectady, which were under guard. It was said the fires lighted in the lower part of the Schoharie could be seen in Schenectady. On October fourteenth Schenectady citizens petitioned Governor Clinton against the removal of troops because of threats that an attack would be made on them by Tories who were rampant in the Helderbergs. Colonel Abraham Wemple, commander of the 2d Albany County Militia, had been ordered to detach seventy men to Fort Rensselaer. Objecting to this, the petitioners wrote:

> "Whereas the present situation of this place is become a frontier town, which we have reason to believe the Enemy aims to destroy . . . . To the southwest from us we have the Hellebergh which are likewise mostly Tories at which places the enemy may lay concealed untill they find an opportunitv

to destroy this place. . . . . We humbly pray your Excellency that our Regiment may remain at home to defend this place."

Governor Clinton's papers contain messages describing briefly the attack on the Schoharie Lower Fort. One was written by an Albany County officer who served there with local units from the county—Lieutenant-Colonel Volckert Veeder, of the 5th Albany Regiment. It was addressed to Colonel Robert Van Rensselaer, of the 8th Albany Regiment, Schenectady, and read:

"LOWER FORT, SCHOHARY,
"OCT. 17, 1780.

"DEAR SIR: The Enemy have burned the whole of Schohary; the first fire was discovered about the middle Fort 8 o'clock this morning; they passed by this post on both sides at 4 o'clock this afternoon; they took the whole of their booty and moved down to Harmen Sitneys; they have fired two swivel shots thro' the roof of the Church. I have sent three scouts to make some discoveries about the middle Fort at different times this day, and none have as yet returned . . . . by what we have seen of the Enemy we suppose their force to be between 5 or 600, mostly regulars and Tories.

"3 o'clock at night—The express says there were 150 more of the Enemy at the upper part of Schohary."

Another message found in the Clinton papers was written by Lieutenant-Colonel Barent Staats, an Albany County militia officer, as follows:

"LOWER FORT, Oct. 18, 1780.

"This moment, your Excellency's Letter came to hand; two Prisoners from Sir John's army arrived at the same time, with the following Intelegenc, that Eight O'Clock this morning, Johnson, Butler, Brant movd with their army from Sidneyes saw mill down the Mohawk Road to the said River where they were to joyne the Party of the Enemy from the Norward, of which their strength by the acco'nt of the Prisoners is one thousand men of which were 2 hundred Indians . . . . the Posts at this place are safe."

By an Act of the New York Legislature on June 30, 1780, persons who came from the British lines and were found lurking secretly in any part of the State were to be tried by court martial as spies. This

was one of the measures necessitated by the frequent Tory attempts to start counter revolutions among the patriots.

The measure soon bore fruit. A week after the assault on the Schoharie forts, the Albany County Committee for the Detection of Spies and Conspiracies received word from Captain Jacob Van Aernam that he had "apprehended at the Helleberg a certain Jacob Schell, formerly an Inhabitant of that place, but at present a soldier in Sir John Johnson's Regiment, and the said Jacob Schell being examined says that he received Directions from Sir John at the time he left him to inform the inhabitants of the Country that those who did not take up Arms would not be molested in their Persons or Property by the King's Troops."

The committee promptly issued a mittimus for his appearance before them. The next documentary evidence of what happened was that of a general court martial ordered by His Excellency Governor Clinton at Albany on the twenty-fifth of October. The court was composed of "Lieutenant Colonel Commander Weisenfelts, President; Lieut. Colonel Livingston; Majors Davis, Price; Capts. Morton, Magee, Marselis, Hermanse; Lieuts. Hyatt, Van Hoevenbergh, Vreeligh, Hermanse, and Bloodgood; John Lansing Junr, Advocate."

The account of Schell's apprehension is told by Arthur B. Gregg, Helderberg historian, in "Old Hellebergh" (Altamont Enterprise Press) 1936, as follows:

> "Jacob Schell had left his family to shift for themselves and had been absent from the Hellebergh several years, presumably with the British. Suddenly he appeared one day at the house of Capt. Jacob Van Aernam and inquired if the Captain was at home. The Captain's wife recognizing him at once, said, 'Go away, Schell, go away. If you don't the Captain will be compelled to arrest you.'
>
> " 'I don't care,' said Schell, 'I'm going to stay at home for good. I'm through. My family needs me. I'll wait for Captain Jacob.' So he hung around and awaited the Captain's return.
>
> "Immediately on seeing him the Captain too recognized the stranger and said, 'Yaup—you get out—I didn't see you at all. Now get away. I don't want to have to arrest you.' But the returned Tory repeated what he had said to Mrs. Van Aernam and persisted in remaining with the consequence that

the Captain was forced to place him under arrest and take him to Albany before the Commissioners.

"We can picture the poor fellow, back with his family a few hours, hustled into a wagon and, as he and the Captain drove the fifteen miles through the sand to the City Hall, pouring out the tale that was to prove his undoing."

The record of the court martial, ending with its grim imposition of sentence, reveals the manner in which these proceedings were conducted, and is given in the Governor George Clinton papers:

"The president, Members and Judge Advocate being sworn, Jacob Schell was brought before the Court and charged by the Judge Advocate with being a Spy, under the Act of the Legislature of this State entitled 'An act subjecting all persons who shall come out from the Enemy and secretly lurk in any part of this State to Trials by Court Martial as Spies.'

"To which Charge the prisoner plead not guilty.

"Leonard Gansevoort, Esq., Sec'y. to the Commissioners of Consperacies, Sworn.

"Quest. Did the prisoner make any, and what Confession in your Hearing?

"Ans'r. The prisoner confessed he belonged to Captain Richard Duncan's Company in Sir John Johnson's Regiment; that on the 22nd day of January 1777, he, the prisoner, went to New York; that he was with Sir John Johnson in his late Expedition as far as Onondaga, at which place Sir John called him out of the Ranks and granted him permission to go and see his Family; that he was ten days travelling from Onondaga to the Helle-Bergh; that Sir John Johnson charged him to tell the Inhabitants (meaning as the witness believes the Inhabitants of the United States) that if they remained quietly at Home they would not be injured; that when he, the prisoner, came to the Helle-Bergh upon inquiring whether Capt. Van Aernam was at Home he was informed he was not; that he, thereupon, sent word to Capt. Van Arnam's wife that he would surrender himself whenever the Captain returned; that upon being informed that Captain Van Aernam was returned he surrendered himself as a prisoner of war; that upon being particularly interrogated whether he conceived himself a

Deserter he answered that he was no Deserter, and if he might be permitted to remain at Home he would behave himself peaceably and quietly.

"Quest. Do you know whether the Helle-Bergh the prisoner Mentioned, is in the State of New York?

"Ans'r. I have frequently heard there is such a place in the County of Albany in this State, and know of no other place of that name.

"The prisoner being requested to make his Defence, alledges his Inducement for coming into the Country was, his having left a distressed Family who stood in Need of his Assistance; that he could not take up Arm in Favor of the Americans because he was not clear of the British Army; that he meant, if he was detected, to Surrender himself prisoner of war and intended to behave himself peaceably if he might be permitted to remain in the Country.

"The Judge Advocate suggested to the Court that Capt. Guy Young was a material witness on the present occasion, with the Nature of whose Testimony he was entirely unacquainted till after the prisoner had made his Defence, he begged the Court would permit his introduction as a witness. Thereupon the Court orders that he be admitted accordingly.

"Capt. Guy Young sworn.

"Quest. Did you hear the prisoner confess whether he intended to remain at Home or not upon his Return?

"Ans'r. He informed me yesterday that if the Militia had not been flocking in, he would have got clear and that he intended to return to a place appointed for that purpose; that he thought it was better to surrender himself a prisoner of war than to be killed on the way.

"Quest. Do you know a place called the Helle-Bergh?

"Ans'r. I do. It is about 15 miles from the City of Albany. I believe it is in the State and it is the place of Residence of Capt. Van Aernam, the person who brought the prisoner to Albany.

"The prisoner then being again called upon to proceed in his Defence, repeated his former Allegations.

"The Court upon considering the evidence are of the opinion that the prisoner is guilty of the Charge exhibited against him and sentence him to be hung by the Neck till he be dead.

"Then the Court adjourned till tomorrow morning 9 o'clock."

"State of New York
"General Orders, Albany,
"Oct. 26, 1780

"Field Officer of the Day Major Davies.

"Tried at a Criminal Court Martial whereof Lt. Colo. Commandant Weisenfells was President, Jacob Shell charged as a Spy under an act, etc. . . . . sentenced to be hanged by his Neck until he be dead. His Excellency the Governor approves the Proceedings and confirms the Sentence. Shell is to be hanged at the Common Place of Execution near the Barracks this afternoon at four o'clock. . . . . The Field Officer of the Day will give the necessary Directions for the Execution."

Mr. Gregg adds this comment:

"If we might be permitted to hazard a guess, it would be that Schell's story regarding the furlough given by Sir John ten days prior at Onondaga was a fable. Sir John and Brant needed all the force they could collect to support the attack from the south on the Schoharie Valley. The 'Johnson Greens' did attack the Valley one week before Schell appeared at the Van Aernam homestead. It is doubtful if ten days previous Sir John was at Onondaga at all. A three day margin only is left for him to get from the central part of the State south to the Susquehannah and with an army back up the Schoharie, and armies did not move by auto trucks in those days. It is more than probable that Schell was with them and after three years' absence, and being so near home on the night his Company camped below Schoharie (near Harmon Sitney's) he deserted. He may have slowly, cautiously, worked his way over the hills and down to his home and family who while joyful to see him were terror stricken and advised reporting to Capt. Jacob.

"As we read the evidence today it is apparent that Jacob Schell was convicted solely on his own testimony; that he no

doubt intended to remain at home; that he voluntarily gave himself up and had not 'been found secretly lurking as a spy.' If ever a man talked himself to death, this poor, foolish Tory did."

The opening of 1781 brought new conditions, which promised little for the safety of the frontier. More regular troops were withdrawn to join Washington in the south. Fort Stanwix was wrecked by a flood in the spring, and so damaged that it was decided to abandon the post rather than attempt its repair. The main gateways to the valley from the west then became Forts Dayton and Herkimer, on the opposite sides of the Mohawk from each other at German Flats.

Sir John Johnson in the spring distributed a proclamation. It was an appeal to Tories to join him, though insolently addressed to the "people of the Mohawk River." It was dated May 22, 1781, and read:

"The Officers and Soldiers of Sir John Johnson's Regt. present their affectionate and loving wishes to their Friends & Relations on the Mohawk River & earnestly entreat them to assemble themselves & come into Canada or the upper Posts, where under that Gallant leader, they may assist their Countrymen to quell & put an end to the present unnatural Rebellion in hopes soon to return to their native homes, there to enjoy the happiness they were formerly blessed with under the best of Kings, who is willing to do every thing for his subjects."

A copy of the handbill was picked up at Johnstown by Lieutenant James Cannon, who wrote to Governor Clinton, describing a raid that had just been made in that place. This read:

"Honor'd Sir. The Enemy Yesterday morning entered the house of Johannas Awl about six in the morning, Made him and his son and a servant boy Prisoners, and abused the women and plundered the house of Clothing and furniture. The Party (by the nearest guess the Women could make) Consisted of Seventy or Eighty men, among which were only one white man; the rest were all Indians; they said they would carry them to Buck Island.

"They behaved in a Barbarous manner to the Prisoners. Dragged them out of Door by the hair and would not allow them as much as their cloathing; they threatened the women



Albany—World's Largest Grain Elevator (13,500,000 Bushels Capacity) at the Deep Water Port of Albany

> if they should go out of the house to Alarm the Neighbors before two Days had Expired, which has hindered me from getting intelligence before this day, upon which I immediately sent an express to Stone Arabia for fear they should break out in that Place. We are almost out of ammunition. Please order some this Way."

There were scattered raids all during the spring in the valley and vicinity. The appointment of Colonel Marinus Willett, in June, as commander of all militia in the Mohawk Valley region was of great importance. He made Fort Plain his headquarters and lost no time strengthening the forts. He ordered a blockhouse erected at Cobleskill, which had no previous defense. Willett all told, however, had then only about three hundred men. After the Schoharie Valley raid of the year before the settlers felt the need of ampler protection. Captain DuBois, from the Lower Schoharie Fort, was ordered to take charge of the work and had the fort finished before harvest time, citizens aiding the soldiers in the construction. The stockade enclosed three acres of land and was surrounded by a moat supplied from a stream of water and there was a lookout from the top of the blockhouse giving a view for miles around. The house of Jacob Shaffer also was enclosed with pickets. There is a legend that in order to get provisions for the fort the patriots made raids on hen-houses of Tories in nearby Rheinbeck district. With or without this provocation, Cobleskill was attacked that fall, several houses burned, and some of the settlers killed and scalped. Remaining in the village over night, the Tories drove off the cattle the next day. A time had been chosen for the attack when the garrison had been depleted for scout duty elsewhere and little resistance was offered.

Willett reinforced the settlers quickly wherever possible and earned a reputation as a valiant defender of the valley. In June, Currytown was burned, a description of which is found in a confession of William Sommer, contained in the papers of Governor Clinton:

> "Sometime in June last Christopher Riddick wrote to Joseph Brant requesting him to come over with a party and fetch him and several other families (who had sons with the enemy) with their Effects away, but dont know whether any answers have been rec'd to that Letter. Four days before the action of the 10th inst at Torloch, Henry Mirch who went off to the enemy last Fall, came to Torloch and informed us that Joseph Brant was coming with a strong party of Indians

and Tories to Destroy Curry Town, which party arrived on the Borders of Torloch the Day following, where they were furnished with provisions, and on the next day being Sunday, Marched from Torloch for Curry Town (we were all painted and equiped like Indians as were all the Tories belonging to the party). We were promised by Joseph Brandt and Barent Fry, the two Commandants of the Indians and Tories, Ten Dollars for every Scalp we took, and that each person who would join them should have fifty acres of land. That early on Monday morning we arrived at Curry Town, and after surrounding the Settlement began to set fire to their Houses and Barns and to drive away their horses & cattle, and that during these transactions I saw two white Children and one Black Child who were killed. After having burnt all the Houses and drove away all the Cattle that could be come at, we returned back as far that night as the Neighborhood of Torloch; the Indians and Tories going to their old Encampment in that Neighborhood together with some of the Inhabitants of Torloch, a few of which went to their own homes that night and joined the Enemy again before Day.

"About 6 o'clock in the morning the Indians were alarmed by the Hallowing of an Old Woman, and the whole immediately prepared for action and advanced towards the place where they heard the hallowing, and upon their discovering the Enemy, made great shoutings and Fired, but were soon obliged to retreat. They afterwards made several other Stands and fired in the best manner they could, untill finally they were obliged to Run quite off, dispersing and running some one way and some another, having a great many men killed and Wounded. I myself saw Twenty Five who were killed; the greatest part of which were Indians, and from Reports of others, I was afterwards told they had upwards of Forty Killed and about as many wounded. I counted the Indians before the Battle begun and they were one hundred and Ninety in Number. The Tories amounted to between Ninety and a Hundred. After the action was over and the Enemy gone of, the People who lived at Torloch all went to their Homes And some time in the afternoon of the same day had a meeting at Lieut. Conradt Brown's. WILLIAM SOMMER."

Willett gave chase from Fort Plain with 150 men and sprang a surprise attack in which forty Indians were killed near New Dorlach,

a severe setback for the marauders. Willett lost five killed and nine wounded.

The situation in the Mohawk Valley at this time and the confidence of the people in Colonel Willett was the subject of a report by Captain J. Daniel Gros to the Governor, dated from Albany July 13, 1781, in which he said:

> "Sir, Yesterday I arrived here from the Mohaks River, where I have continued to be these four weeks past; visiting the principal parts of the country, where by I am enabled to give you a pretty full detail of its present Condition. To my surprise I had almost forgot the repeated destructions this County has met with, had it not been for the Ruins, indicating that the Inhabitants had formerly the Comfort of Buildings.
>
> "All along the river, and in the other settlements, the most remote ones except, *viz*: Dillenberg, Riemensnyder's Bush, Snell's Bush, Germantown, Andrewtown, Springfield and Cherry Valley, there is a prospect of as plentiful Crops as has been in the Memory of Men, and every spot of ground flourishes with some kind of grain as much, if not more, as in time of the profoundest Peace. What pity would it be, if these bountiful comforts should be lost? The Hay harvest is at hand, and would have been almost finished now had it not been for the removal of the Troops, and the several excursions of the enemy since that time, which made it necessary to call every man under Arms for the Common Defence; and this has been done with the greatest alacrity imaginable.
>
> "The removal of the Troops has not had that effect upon the Militia which I feared it would have. Colonel Willett and I were enjoined by the General to prepare them for that Catastrophe in Time; and the hope that other troops will be sent keeps up their spirits and rather animates them to the utmost exertions whereof we have had several instances upon intelligence that the Enemy was discovered at Different places which put it out of the power of Col. Willett to send his men any where or do anything else but to keep them in readiness. I wrote to two officers requesting them in the name of the Col. to assist at this critical juncture, when in one hour's time we had 76 effective men under march for such places where it was thought they would be of service. And in the affair of

> Durlach they gave full proof of their determined Zeal to defend their Country. I make no doubt but the Militia, if well regulated with the assistance of some Troops, in my opinion 500, will be able to bid defiance to all the enemies that may be brought against them and effectually protect themselves.
>
> "I have particular pleasure to assure your Excellency that Col. Willett is universally looked upon in this Light (of conduct and Ability.)"

On August sixth, a band of Tories and Indians raided the settlement of Schell's Bush, four miles north of Herkimer. They met with furious resistance. Christian Schell, farmer, his wife and six sons barricaded themselves in the house and fought off the sixty-five attackers, killing eleven, wounding fifteen and capturing the Tory Captain McDonald, who led the assault. After several hours' fight, tne Tories fled. The house was saved largely because McDonald, wounded, was carried into the house by two of the Schell men.

An attack on a Helderberg family was made early in September, seven being massacred. A report of the tragedy to Governor Clinton by Hugh Mitchell, of Schenectady, said: "I have just now rec'd Information by a party who had been to the Hellberg on a scout that one Captain Teets who lived at the Beaver Dam was taken prisoner last Saturday night by the party of the Enemy consisting of twelve or fifteen men mostly Indians. The rest of Captain Teets family consisting of his old father and seven other persons were most inhumanly Murdered and his house and barn burnt. Their was but this and another family in that settlement who were deemed friends to the Country." The family was also known by the name of Dietz. Those slain included Dietz's father, wife, mother and four children.

Governor Clinton, in reply to Mitchell, said he was surprised that the disaffected had not been brought in from the Helderbergs as General Gansevoort had been ordered to round them up in the spring under the legislation previously noted. "I am sorry for the Disaster of Mr. Teets and his family," the Governor said.

Not long after this attempts were made to kidnap Governor Clinton at Poughkeepsie; General Schuyler at Albany; General Gansevoort at Saratoga; and other patriot leaders. John Tayler notified the Governor of rumors of an attempt to burn Albany. The city seems to have been a hotbed at the time for Tory intrigue due to the reduction in the number of troops guarding the border. Many spies or "Fifth Columnists" had come in.

"A report prevails [Tayler wrote] that the Enemy are determined to attempt to burn this city. Many are packing up their valuable effects in order to have them Conveyed to some place of greater safety. The City Regiment were under Arms and Addressed on the occasion by the General, hard duty three nights in bed & no rations. . . . .

"Bettis & Myers (Joe Bettis and John Waltermyer, famous Tories) are again in the Vicinity of this City; the Tories near the Town will I fear cause its destruction & our Militia officers will not Execute a law Enabling of them to remove them. General Stark set off for Saratoga the day before yesterday."

General Stark at this time is supposed to have made his remark that because of the Tory influences Albany "was a dangerous place to put troops into."

It was apparent the unprotected frontier was giving the patriot authorities a great deal of trouble, and an expedition from Canada at that time to seize the city might have been successful.

The last great raid by the Tories and Indians was in October, 1781, a few days after Cornwallis' surrender on the nineteenth at Yorktown, Virginia. Hostilities between the two countries continued, however, until February, 1783. Major John Ross and Walter Butler appeared October twenty-fourth near Sharon, after coming down the St. Lawrence to Oswego and thence to the Susquehanna and the Cherry Valley district. Prisoners were taken at Currytown and Randall, where the women and children were released. The invaders marched down the Mohawk shore to Fort Hunter, then headed north for Johnstown, plundering as they went.

Colonel Willett went immediately in pursuit with four hundred men and overtook them near Johnson Hall. Outnumbered, Willett sent part of his detail to make a diversion in the rear of the enemy, but was formed to retreat temporarily. He returned to the battle and with the aid of the flank action succeeded in driving the British off the field. The enemy fled toward West Canada Creek, where Willett again picked up the trail and in a skirmish near Gray, north of Hinckley Reservoir, while making a stand at the creek, Walter Butler was shot and killed. The site has been called Butler's Ford since then. There was universal jubilation among the patriots at the news of the demise of the notoriously cruel raider.

The final chapter in Walter Butler's career was told in Colonel Willett's official report of the defeat of Major Ross to Governor Clinton:

> "The 29th (November, 1781) we marched North upwards of Twenty miles in a snow storm and at Eight o'clock A.M. of the 30th we fell in with the enemy, who without making any Resistance worth mentioning fled from that time untill night; we pursued them as Closely and warmly as Possible. Nor did they ever attempt to Check us in our Advance Except at one Difficult ford in Canada Creek, where they lost several of their men. Amongst those killed at that Place was Walter Butler, the Person who commanded the Massacre at Cherry Valley in November, 1778. He was called a Major but by the Commission found in his Pocket appears to be no more than a Captain."

After much suffering in their flight through the woods, Major Ross and the survivors reached their Carleton Island base.

There were a few raids in 1782, the principal one being by six hundred Indians and Tories on German Flats, which destroyed everything except the fort and the house of Johan Joost Herkimer.

Seven savages appeared at Johnstown in the summer of 1782, killed Henry Stoner, father of Nicholas Stoner, the trapper, and burned the Stoner home. Nick avenged the deed some years later, throwing the Indian who was responsible for his father's death into a fireplace in the town tavern, after beating him with red-hot fire tongs. Union Hall, built in 1798, and kept as a hotel by Vaumain de Fon Claire, is named as the likely place of this encounter, though it may have occurred at Tice's Tavern.

On November 13, 1782, occurred the signing of provisional articles of peace, but time was required for the news to reach the frontier and the termination of the struggle was not proclaimed by Congress until April 19, 1783, just eight years after the battle of Lexington. The official copy of the Versailles Treaty of Peace reached New York on November 19, 1783.

It was a great relief to the border settlements when the war ended. Tryon County had been laid waste and in other sections homes had been destroyed in guerrilla warfare. Families that had sought refuge at Schenectady, Albany, the Catskills or elsewhere, gradually returned to their former abodes to take up the threads of life where they had been broken. Many of the captives were delayed

a long time in obtaining their release to return home to their families and the border forts were not given up immediately by the British.

Offensive as the Tories had been, their boldness after the warfare ceased was quite as aggravating. Many of them who had engaged in murderous raids on their neighbors began returning to their former homes, seeking to reëstablish themselves as if nothing had happened. Some, it is true, managed to reinstate themselves in the good graces of the long-suffering Whigs, but as a rule they were advised there was no room for them in the land which had been made free over their opposition.

Revealing they were at the end of their patience the people in the Mohawk district of Tryon County adopted this resolution on May 9, 1783:

> "*Resolved,* unanimously that all those who have gone off to the enemy or have been banished by any law of this State, or those who we shall find tarried as spies or tools of the enemy and encouraged and harbored those who went away, shall not live in this district on any pretense whatever; and as for those who have washed their faces from Indian paint and their hands from innocent blood of our dear ones and have returned either openly or covertly, we hereby warn them to leave the district before the 20th of June next or they may expect to feel the just resentment of an injured and determined people.
>
> "We likewise unanimously desire our brethren in the other districts in this county to join with us to instruct our representatives not to consent to the repealing of any laws made for the safety of this state against treason or confiscation of traitors' estates or to passing any new acts for the return or restitution of tories.
>
> "By order of the meeting,
>
> "Josiah T. Throop, Chairman."

Thus was spiked an apparent move by influential friends of the Tories to seek to restore them to their lands and position. Sir John Johnson never again saw his estates in New York. He was appointed after the war superintendent and inspector of Indian affairs in British North America, a post he continued to hold until his death at Montreal in 1830. Johnson Hall was owned for a time by an Albany man who bought it at the sale of confiscated properties. The building has many interesting features, including the much-hacked stair rail,

where Joseph Brant used to swing his tomahawk on his way to or from Sir John's business office on the second floor.

The extenive Johnson lands in Kingsborough and part of Caughnawaga, where the Scotch-Highlanders had settled, were soon taken over by patriots. Throughout the valley where there had been Tory lands, buyers were quickly found. Settlement was also encouraged by the award of lands on the military tracts to veterans of the conflict, in part payment for their services to the Nation. On April 2, 1784, at the request of the inhabitants, the name Tryon was struck from the county and it received the new name of Montgomery, in honor of General Richard Montgomery, the hero killed at Quebec in 1775.

One of the Tories who had the effrontery to return to his former home was Beacraft, who had killed Peter Vrooman, young son of Captain Teunis Vrooman in the Schoharie Valley, August 9, 1780. His house near Blenheim was surrounded by a group of outraged neighbors who seized the man, tied him to a tree and gave him a flogging. Accounts vary as to whether Beacraft survived the ordeal. Roscoe says he died after the fiftieth lash and was buried nearby. Others say Beacraft survived, but left the valley, never to return.

At the war's end, General Washington made two trips to the Hudson and Mohawk valleys to see the battle sites and view for himself the destructiveness caused by the enemy raids. The General also wished to glimpse the area which had served as a valuable granary to his army and of whose beauty he had heard much. After the surrender of Cornwallis, Washington had returned to Newburgh on the Hudson, where his headquarters were, and where he disbanded the Continental Army.

Regarding his northern tour he wrote to General Schuyler of his intention "to reconnoitre those places where the most remarkable posts were established and the ground which became famous by being the theatre of action in 1777." He added that "on our return from there we propose to pass across the Mohawk river, in order to have a view of that tract of country which is so much celebrated for the fertility of the soil and the beauty of its situation."

On his first trip, in 1782, the General was received at Albany, June twenty-seventh, amid public rejoicing. He was made a freeman of the city, being presented by Mayor Abraham Ten Broeck with a certificate to this effect contained in a gold box. Domine Westerlo made an address to the General on behalf of the Dutch Church. Thirteen guns were fired from the fort in salute, church

bells were rung until eight o'clock in the evening, and at night the city was illuminated.

Washington stayed over night at Schuyler Mansion, proceeding to Saratoga, and on June thirtieth was welcomed at Schenectady, riding over from Albany in a carriage with General Schuyler. A band of Oneida Indians were among the welcomers there. Washington attended a public dinner at the tavern at State and Water streets conducted by Robert Clinch, who had served in the Braddock campaign as a drummer, and was known to the distinguished visitor. Washington's reply to the welcome was as follows:

> *"To the Magistrates and Military Officers of the town of Schenectada:*
>
> "GENTLEMEN—I request you to accept my warmest thanks for your affectionate address.
>
> "In a cause so just and righteous as ours we have every reason to hope the Divine Providence will still continue to crown our arms with success, and finally compel our enemies to grant us that peace upon equitable terms which we so ardently desire.
>
> "May you and the good people of this town in the meantime be protected from every insidious and open foe, and may the complicated blessings of peace soon reward your arduous struggles for the establishment of the freedom and independence of our common country."

The following summer Washington made a more extended trip, accompanied by forty of his officers, all of whom welcomed surcease from the long campaign. Governor Clinton and General Hand were in the party. As Washington Irving described the trip in his "Life of Washington," "they set out by water from Newburgh, ascended the Hudson to Albany, visited Saratoga and the scene of Burgoyne's surrender, embarked on Lake George, where light boats had been provided for them, traversed that beautiful lake, so full of historic interest; proceeded to Ticonderoga and Crown Point and, after reconnoitering those eventful posts, returned to Schenectady."

On the occasion of the arrival of this larger party, a still more elaborate welcome was extended at Albany on July 19, 1783. The Common Council invited the General and his officers to attend a public dinner and, at eleven o'clock in the morning, visited him at the inn of Hugh Dennison, in Green Street, where the following address was presented to the Continental Army Commander:

"We, the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of Albany, with the sincerest pleasure avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer your Excellency our most cordial Congratulations on the formal Recognition of the Independence of the United States by that Power which has so long anxiously laboured to subvert it. The Citizens of America and their Posterity will ever have abundant reason to commemorate the



Cohoes—Armory

day when your Excellency was appointed to the Chief Command of her Forces, in the faithful discharge of which you have sacrificed your private ease and interest to the public weal and evinced to the world that you have been the faithful guardian of the Liberties of your Country.

"Under the Smile of Providence, with a brave and victorious Army, aided by a great and generous Ally, you have saved America from bondage, restored to her the peaceable enjoy-

ment of her civil Rights and laid a solid Foundation for the Freedom and Independence of the United States. Receive, Sir, our sincere wish that you may in the Bosom of your Country enjoy the Tranquility which your Toils have purchased and look forward with patriotic pleasure to those ages of Prosperity which we may reasonably hope will be confirmed in endless succession by the Wisdom and Harmony of her Councils."

To this Washington replied:

"To the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of Albany:

"GENTLEMEN: I accept with heartfelt satisfaction your affectionate congratulations on the restoration of Peace and the formal recognition of the Independence of the United States. We may indeed ascribe these most happy and glorious Events to the smiles of Providence and the virtue of our Citizens and the bravery of our Troops aided by the powerful interposition of our magnanimous and illustrious ally.

"For the favorable sentiments you are pleased to express of my agency in this Revolution and for your benevolent wishes for my personal felicity, I intreat you, Gentlemen, to receive my warmest acknowledgments.

"While I contemplate with irrepressible pleasure the future tranquility and glory of our common Country, I cannot but take a particular interest in the anticipation of the increase in prosperity and greatness of this ancient and respectable City of Albany, from whose Citizens I have received such distinguished tokens of their approbation and affection."

On this tour Washington was a guest in the Schuylerville house of General Schuyler, which had been rebuilt, visited High Rock Spring and rode through Ballston Spa to Schenectady. Going up the Mohawk Valley, he inspected Fort Stanwix, the Oriskany battlefield, the German Flats forts, and Fort Plain, then commanded by Colonel Clyde. He reviewed the garrison and went to Cherry Valley for the night. The party set out August first to visit Otsego Lake, following the route taken by General Clinton's army in 1779, and afterward returned to the Van Alstyne house at Canajoharie, then occupied by Colonel and Mrs. Clyde. He remained over night there. Tradition says the General addressed a crowd of villagers near Roof's

Tavern. Resuming the journey he passed down the Mohawk to Schenectady and thence to Albany to Newburgh.

His comments on the journey were contained in a letter to Chastellux, October 12, 1783, describing the route he had taken and on which he had glimpsed the short portages between the Mohawk and Oneida Lake; at Wood Creek, leading to Lake Ontario; and that between the Mohawk and Otsego Lake.

> "Prompted by these actual observations [Washington wrote] I could not help taking a more contemplative and extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States, from maps and the information of others and could not but be struck by the immense diffusion and importance of it and with the goodness of that Providence, which has dealt his favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them. I shall not rest contented until I have explored the western country and traversed the lines (or a great part of them) which have given bounds to a new empire."

Thus Washington envisioned the great transportation development that would flow through the Hudson and Mohawk valleys to open the western country. His thoughts had already turned from the conflicts of war to the vastness of the opportunities for development which now awaited the young Nation.

Signing of the peace treaty at Paris on September third was followed by the evacuation of New York City by the British November twenty-fifth, taking thirty thousand Tories with them. The State at last could resume commerce on the Hudson and find a seaward outlet. This, too, was a mark of the new freedom that now descended upon the land. The people at last were at liberty to carve their own destiny without foreign interference. Great bonfires were lighted and guns joyously fired up and down the Mohawk and Hudson valleys and far back into the hills as word came of the final peace. At Schenectady an effigy of Benedict Arnold was burned. America was free!

Mention has been made of the Rev. Johannes Schuneman, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Catskill and Coxsackie, and his valor in carrying on his pastoral work which carried him to Kaatsban as well in defiance of Tory threats. His career is well worth noting. His parents were pioneers in the region. He was sent to Holland for two years to study for the ministry. On his return he married Anna Van Bergen and a parsonage was built for them at

old Catskill village, in 1754. During the Revolution messengers passed up and down the river giving news of alarms, and the militia regiments went to and from their duty on the borders. Domine Schuneman was one of the foremost patriots in the region and, as we have seen, the first signer of the "Coxsackie Declaration of Independence." Tories and Indians infested the Catskill heights, murdered and captured several families, raids which terrorized the district.

Domine Schuneman, however, would not be deterred from making his usual rounds, and it is told that he was a dead shot with a rifle. He had to go ten miles through the woods to the Kaatsban church and from Catskill to Coxsackie was twelve miles in a northerly direction, much of it also along forest road where enemies could be concealed. The clergyman walked undisturbed with his rifle, which he always kept in his pulpit during services while the Tory raids were on. Tradition credits him with much eloquence for the patriot cause. He died in 1794.

Another noted pastor of the Revolutionary period was the Rev. Peter N. Sommer, of Schoharie, who also preached at Stone Arabia, Canajoharie, Loonenburgh, Hoosick, Albany, Helderberg, Catskill and Sharon. He was Lutheran and was called to the Schoharie church in 1742. He was blind from 1768 to 1786, when he recovered his sight. During the period of his blindness he was led to church services. He was an ardent patriot. In 1789 he retired from the Schoharie Church, going to Sharon, where he died in 1795. His body was reinterred in 1860 in the Schoharie Lutheran Cemetery, near the site of the original parsonage, which is the oldest building in the county. The Rev. Johannes Schuyler, who was pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church at Schoharie, built in 1772—the famous Stone Church—died in 1779.

The Rev. John Gabriel Gebhard, who emigrated to America just before the Revolution, fled from New York City in 1776 to escape the British, and after a brief stay at Esopus, went to Claverack. He became pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church there, and remained for fifty years. During the war he served a pastorate which included churches in Ghent (where an edifice was built in 1775), Taghkanic, and Kinderhook, and at times supplied pulpits in Dutchess and Schoharie counties. He established the Washington Seminary at Claverack in 1777, for which a building was erected in 1779, during one of the dark periods of the war. Records of the institution were kept in Latin. In 1780 Andrew Mayfield Carshore, who deserted from

Burgoyne's army after the battle of Saratoga and located in Kinderhook, became the principal of the school.

It is recorded that Domine Eilardus Westerlo, of the Dutch Reformed Church in Albany, began preaching one sermon each Sunday in English after General Washington's visit to the city in 1782, when it was his privilege to present an address to the victorious Commander on behalf of the church. Up to that time the preaching had been in Dutch. The wartime pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in Schenectady was Domine Barent Vrooman, a descendant of the Adam Vrooman who fought so well in the massacre of 1690. The Rev. Alexander Miller, of the First Presbyterian Church in Schenectady, braved danger to preach at Currytown and Remsen's Bush during the Revolution and owing to a considerable dispersion of his congregation by war's interruptions, organized and taught a grammar school during that period.

The record of the eight years of war by which Independence was established contains countless stories of individual courage and achievement, a few of which have been indicated. Among the Colonial officers, General Philip Schuyler occupied the most significant position in this region as commander of the Northern Department of the Continental Army in 1777 up to the eve of the battle of Saratoga. He was born in Albany, November 11, 1733, grand-nephew of Peter Schuyler, the city's first mayor, and famed Indian commissioner. Philip Schuyler served in the French-Indian War at Ticonderoga and it was he who brought Lord Howe's body back to Albany for burial. As a member of the Provincial Assembly he was a faithful supporter of the Whig cause. On March 3, 1775, he moved to censure King George III and the resolution carried seven to two, Loyalists leaving the hall. He served in the Second Continental Congress and became an intimate of General Washington, with whom he labored in preparing the Continental Army regulations.

Schuyler's replacement by Gates just before Saratoga has been considered due to political manipulation by his enemies. In the subsequent court martial, which he demanded, he was completely exonerated of every charge. He was invited to return to active service and Congress several times refused his resignation, but he withdrew from the army in 1779. He served in Congress from 1778 to 1781 and in 1789 became United States Senator. In civil life he became noted as the pioneer of inland navigation, forming a company which built the first lock at Little Falls, the beginning of the modern canal transportation system. At Schuyler Mansion in Albany many lead-

ing figures of the Revolution were entertained, including General Washington; and here, December 14, 1780, Alexander Hamilton and Schuyler's daughter Elizabeth were married. The year following occurred the attempt by Bettys and Waltermyer to kidnap the General, during which an Indian hurled a tomahawk at Margaret Schuyler, which struck the stair rail, a mark still to be seen. Margaret, rescuing her infant sister Catherine from a cradle, escaped harm, the tomahawk cutting her dress. Another version is that the child rescued was Philip Church, son of John B. Church and Angelica Schuyler Church. Philip afterward became a judge in Allegany County.

Colonel Peter Gansevoort, the hero of Fort Stanwix, was born in Albany, 1749, of Dutch heritage, served in Montgomery's expedition in Canada in 1775. He was placed in command of the 3d New York Line Regiment in 1776 and the following summer underwent the Stanwix siege, when the Stars and Stripes were flown under fire for the first time. After serving in the Sullivan campaign, he was made a brigadier-general of militia. In the post-war period he held several civil offices, including that of Albany County sheriff. His death occurred in 1812, when he was sixty-two years old. A statue of him stands at Rome.

Streets and towns are named after Colonel Marinus Willett, a Long Island native, who distinguished himself at Fort Stanwix and also as militia commander of the Mohawk Valley in the latter period of the war. After the conflict he received many civil honors, as sheriff and later mayor of New York City.

Schoharie's defender, Colonel Peter Vrooman, was born in the family settlement at Vroomansland, in the upper part of the Schoharie Valley, and served in the French-Indian War prior to the Revolution. His determined defense of the Middle Fort after Major Woolsey relinquished the command is one of the cherished legends of the region.

A noted Indian missionary, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, to whose influence the Oneida loyalty to the patriot cause was credited, was a familiar figure in the valley. He was often called upon to act as an interpreter at conferences with the savages. He was born in Connecticut. He began preaching to the Oneidas a decade before the Revolution, assisted by his wife. When the Revolution began she went to a farm at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, while he remained working among the savages. The missionary in 1793 obtained a charter for the formation of Hamilton Oneida Academy, near Clin-

ton, which in 1810 became Hamilton College. Kirkland is buried on the college campus.

Colonel John Harper, who performed such valiant service in routing McDonald in the Schoharie Valley, served also in the Sullivan expedition, and was a brave and valued officer. He retired to Harpersfield after the Revolution and died there in 1811. His ancestor, John Harper, Sr., was one of a group of New Englanders who, in 1768, obtained title to twenty thousand acres of land in the vicinity of the Charlotte River.

CHAPTER XVIII

Expansion Begins: Counties Are Formed

Rush of New Settlement and Enterprise Begins—The "Yankee Invasion"—Hamilton Wins Fight for Federal Constitution, 1788—Riot at Albany by Anti-Federalists—Livingston Administers Oath to Washington, First President—Hudson Settled by Nantucket Whalers, 1783—Becomes City, 1785—Albany Sixth Largest City in Nation—Banking Begun, 1792—Settlers Flow into Mohawk and Susquehanna Valleys—Counties Formed: Columbia, 1786; Rensselaer, Herkimer and Otsego, 1791; Schoharie, 1795; Greene, 1800; Schenectady, 1809; Fulton, 1838—Description of County Capitals—First Public School at Clermont, 1791—Union College Formed, 1795—Albany Gets the State Capital, 1797—First Capitol Building, 1804—Buildings Removed from Middle of State Street, City's Appearance Changes.

The end of the Revolution brought an expansion of extraordinary proportions. Neither America nor the world had seen anything like it. For the first time in history a group of loosely associated states had by idealism and force of arms, won human liberty on a platform which gave to each individual the inalienable right to be considered the equal of every other individual.

It was a shocking thing for autocrats and some rich landholders to behold; and some of them were a long time getting used to the idea. But to the man who had fought in the Revolution, or had undergone trials for the patriot cause, there came an exuberance of spirit that spread up and down the coast and through the hinterland like a storm.

Men were free! The ancient shackles were actually broken. What would they—what could they—do with this earth-shaking privilege? The efforts of the next fifty years pretty well convinced the world of the strides possible to humankind when released from the deadly restraint of tyrannical control; and the budding promise of that

period proved only preliminary to the mightier advance of the Nation in the later eras, even to the present time.

It is the pride of the Capital Region that within it was dramatized the mighty bursting of the shell by which America entered upon its new day. Scarcely had peace descended than there began an unprecedented migration from the eastern coastal states to the western Land of Promise. The "west" in the first instance proved to be the upper tiers of the State of New York for a great mass of settlers who hurried off seeking new homes and fortunes. There were other infiltrations from the seaboard into the Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi, but a voluminous traffic went by the northern natural gateway formed by the Hudson and Mohawk valleys.

Exemplifying the force of this movement as it developed in the first blush of practical freedom of men's bodies and souls was the transportation evolution. It is extremely significant that within a few years of the Revolution's close, Albany became the largest turnpike center in the country; that the first practical steamboat made its pioneer voyage on the Hudson River between Albany and New York; that the first large public work of any state in the Union was the construction of the Erie Canal between the Hudson and Lake Erie; and that America's trunkline railroad system had its origin in a tiny, spark-throwing, jolting train which, in 1831, sped across the sand plain between Albany and Schenectady at the phenomenal speed of thirty miles an hour!

Accompanying the advance of progress in the valley routes, there was scattered through the neighboring vicinity, from the New England border to the Finger Lakes and beyond, a flood of settlement. This resulted in the founding of scores of new towns and villages, the origin of often unique industries, and the beginning of a spreading agricultural expansion that has continued to be one of the chief sources of prosperity of the modern State.

The immensity of the change that came over the Hudson-Mohawk-Susquehanna region in the transition from old days to the new pioneering is attested by many accounts existing of that period. What happened was not merely a shifting of population, but a new brand of pioneering, not against Indians, French or British this time, but against natural forces. Out of the rich forests, fields, mountains. lakes and rivers, the post-Revolution migrants fashioned a civilization more abundant than any that had gone before.

At the beginning, the large infiltration was from New England, the southern counties of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.

Massachusetts since earliest days had claimed coast-to-coast spread of her territory, and had been awarded lands in western New York in adjustment of the terms of the seventeenth century charters. These lands were placed on the market; other public tracts were opened to soldiers of the Revolution in part payment for their services. The experiences of the war had brought many New England troops into the Hudson Valley and the western frontier. In the midst of the struggle, these troops had caught a vision of the fascinating beauty and fertility of the region. When the new day came, they hastened to become enthusiastic pioneers in the Land of Eden. Many of these, after vigorous conflict with the untrammeled forest, succeeded in clearing prosperous farms; many located along the streams and benefited from the enormous transportation development that followed. Most of them lived to see the wilderness fall away and thriving communities rise in a land where once the only sounds had been the sighing of trees and the primitive calls of animals, birds and Indians. The homes of many of those who established themselves in this New West still may be found along the Hudson shores, as along the Mohawk, Great Western and Susquehanna turnpikes, standing after more than a century and revealing unmistakably their New England origin. They are pleasant companions of the sturdy thick-walled pioneer stone houses of the Dutch and Palatines that braved the harsh shock of the frontier. For those who wish to learn of American pioneering, there is scarcely a more interesting section of the land.

Besides the removals from New England, a considerable immigration from Europe followed the Treaty of Paris. Many Irish, Swiss and Germans came over the sea drawn by the magnetic attraction of the establishment of a Republic of free people. The whole world came to marvel at the achievement.

What the influx meant to the people of New York can be imagined. When the Treaty of Paris was signed, September 3, 1783, the young State was in an impoverished and desolate condition. Nearly one-third of the battles of the Revolution occurred on its soil. On the evacuation of New York City by the British late in November, thirty thousand Tories went to Canada. There had been much destruction of buildings and property in the city. On the northern frontier, due to the savage raids that had been going on since 1778, vast areas had been ruined. Contemporary accounts reveal the impoverishment that was felt. The supervisors of Tryon County prepared a report dated



Gloversville from Meyers Park

December 20, 1780, reciting the losses that had been sustained from slaughter, desertion, seizure of persons and burning of homes, equipment and cattle by the enemy. Over one thousand two hundred farms lay uncultivated; the county's population, which had been ten thousand when the war began, had been reduced by a third. Many of the once prosperous communities in the Mohawk, Cherry, Schoharie and Susquehanna valleys lay in charred ruins.

Slowly, sadly the former inhabitants—or their heirs as often happened—returned to those places of bitter memories to rebuild, and seek fresh hope under the new conditions. They were to have the reward of brave pioneering after all. As the rush of new settlement began, lands were taken up; gristmills, sawmills and stores thickened; enterprise began to function and for more than forty years, excluding the War of 1812, prosperity grew apace. Thus Cherry Valley, which had been utterly obliterated, rose from the ashes of Toryism and Indian brutality to become, by 1800, a flourishing center of turnpike travel. The swiftness of the change was everywhere felt. How important had been the holding of the frontier during the Revolution then was apparent, for this was soon proved to be the key route of American development. The Mohawk, indeed, had been the most fiercely contested valley in all the land, as may be judged from the fact that from the time the Dutch traders built their outpost at Albany a period of 169 years elapsed before it was safe for the average citizen to go farther than one hundred miles into the western wilderness. The most remote settlement west of Albany up to the Revolution was the German Flats and Frankfort section near the outskirts of modern Utica.

Here, the advance of settlement had to pause, awaiting the climax of the wars. Then the restraints were lifted at last. Treaties were made with the old valley residents, the Six Nations, once all-powerful, whereby the savages agreed to part with their lands by sale and take up their own abode in reservations. That treaty was in 1788 at old Fort Stanwix, site of the treaty making by Sir William Johnson twenty years earlier, when the savages first began to yield up their territory. Now the Iroquois were out of the Long House for good. The road to settlement was open, and it led by wood trails, portages and rivers through a still virginal wilderness. The savages, amazingly enough, had not been conquered, but were recognized as independent nations, and as such they have dwelt within New York State since the Republic was born, in peace and amity—even volunteering to serve in our wars. Six to seven thousand Indians now reside in the State.

The influx did not happen all at once, but gathered momentum slowly, moving onward until it swelled to flood proportions. For a period—a very brief one—after the Revolution there was a stillness. It was as though the whole country had paused in an effort to clear its head from the storms of the so recent past and readjust itself to the new era that had dawned. In that momentary lull, men's minds groped to realize the astounding good fortune that was theirs. They had heard so much of the great natural riches of their pristine country that it was only natural they should wish to explore and see for themselves. Having faced an enemy on the battlefield, and dealt with skulking Tory marauders, they were not afraid of breaking open the long forests that stretched away to the west. Heads of families in the Eastern States began slipping away from home to journey into the new country; and finding a location that pleased them, would return to get their families; and so smoke fire curled upward from clearings in the western woods and a new age of adventure began.

But there were important matters to be taken care of before America could claim to be a Nation. George Washington, after dismissing the Continental Army at Newburgh, on December 4, 1783, at Fraunce's Tavern, New York City, took leave of his officers. New York became the temporary seat of State Government, Governor Clinton taking up his residence there. In the struggle to adopt the Federal Constitution, New York was a notable battleground, as the home of the leading Federalist, Alexander Hamilton. The weakness of the Articles of Confederation under which a central government had existed during the Revolution was apparent. In 1787 Congress called a convention at Philadelphia to revise the articles into a more workable form. Hamilton, General Schuyler's son-in-law and a brilliant financier and statesman, led the movement for a strong Federal Government. Other New York delegates to the convention were Robert Yates and John Lansing, of Albany County. The new plan of government was adopted by Congress September 17, 1787.

The real contest began after the Constitution was sent to the states for ratification. Nine of the thirteen states had to approve it to render it effective. A heated campaign occurred in New York, principally on the issue of states' rights, and this was the beginning of the party system. Hamilton, Jay and Madison argued for the Constitution in the notable Federalist papers, some of which are said to have been composed by Hamilton at Schuyler Mansion and while riding on Hudson River sloops between Albany and New York. He was frequently in consultation with General Schuyler at the mansion.

A tradition has come down from this period that Hamilton "traded" Albany as the site for the permanent national capital in order to obtain the necessary southern votes for ratification.

The New York State convention was in session at Poughkeepsie hotly debating the issue when New Hampshire, the ninth State, ratified. The Constitution then being in effect, New York's participation became automatic. Hamilton, however, sought a vote and after a three-hour speech had the satisfaction of obtaining ratification by the slender margin of thirty to twenty-seven. This was on July twenty-second. The Constitution, still lacking the Bill of Rights, which was adopted later, was proclaimed by Governor Clinton September 13, 1788. Celebrations followed universally. Bells rang, guns were fired. The Federalists, successful in their drive to place central power in Congress, the courts and the President were overjoyed.

The anti-Federalists, however, did not lose gracefully and there were many riots. In Albany the parade in honor of the Constitution was attacked as it passed through State Street by a shower of bricks and stones. A cannon wheeled into Green Street was pointed at the paraders and only routed when a cavalryman dashed upon the gunner and spiked the fuse. General Schuyler, who led the parade on horseback, preceded by a troop of light horse, carried an engrossed parchment copy of the Constitution on a decorative staff. Colonel John H. Wendell carried the flag of the United States.

It is interesting to note the composition of the parade, since it reflected the civic interests of what was then the sixth largest city of the Nation. The parade line included, in order, following the flag:

> "Eleven ancient Citizens, each representing a state that had ratified the Constitution, bearing a scroll of parchment, with the name of the state endorsed in capitals.
>
> "Axe-men, ornamented with garlands of laurels.
>
> "An elegant Plough, guided by Stephen Van Rensselaer, Esq.
>
> "Sowers, John Cuyler, Esq. and Capt. Jacob Lansing.
>
> "A neat Harrow, guided by Francis Nicoll, Esq.
>
> "Farmers, neatly dressed, with various implements of husbandry, emblematically decorated.
>
> "The Farmers' flag, carried by Mr. Gerrit Witbeck, green silk, a sheaf of wheat, motto, God speed the Plough.
>
> "Brewers, preceded by a dray, carrying a butt—Master Van Rensselaer in the character of Bacchus, astride, with a silver beaker in his hand."

Following were carpenters, gold and silversmiths, boat builders, tinmen, pewterers, block and pump makers, blacksmiths, clock- and watchmakers, sailmakers, bakers, nailers, clothiers, carmen, ship-joiners, shipwrights, riggers, inspectors of flour, millers and weavers, appropriately dressed, and carrying implements or having their workshops on decorated floats driven by two, four or six horses. Printers were preceded by apprentices who had blue sashes and carried copies of newspapers. Charles R. Webster, publisher, carried a silk flag on which were depicted the Bible and the Constitution, with the words: "Our Freedom Is Secured."

After these came painters and glaziers, tailors, coachmakers and wheelwrights, turners, masons, bricklayers, saddlers, harness makers, tanners, curriers, brass founders, coopers, butchers, cordwainers, glassmakers. Then followed a batteau drawn by two gray horses "loaded with goods proper for the Indian trade, navigated by a proper number of batteauxmen, furnished with setting poles, paddles, &c., which were used with great skill during the procession, Mr. Gerardus Lansing in the character of a trader, and an Indian, dressed and ornamented sitting in the stern."

These were followed by captains of vessels, traders, clerks, "the corporations of the Dutch, Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, preceded by the clergy," sheriffs and deputies with white wands, constables wearing stars, grand jurors, city officials, judges and justices of the Court of Common Pleas, the chancellor, the gentlemen of the bar in gowns, followed by their students; schoolmasters followed by their students; the surveyor-general, adjutant-general and officers of the militia in full uniform, physicians and their students; a detachment of artillery, commanded by Captain Hale.

The procession passed through Broadway to State Street Hill on which was erected a bower 154 feet long, forty-four feet wide, standing on pillars fifteen feet high. The bower was festooned with foliage, and bore medallions of the ratifying states. Tables were spread in the rear of the bower for a feast which included thirteen toasts, each of which was "honored with the discharge of eleven guns." As the procession marched down the hill to disperse, the fort fired more guns. The affair lasted from noon to six P. M.

Delegates to the State convention which ratified the Constitution included: From Albany County, Robert Yates, John Lansing, Jr., Henry Oothout, Peter Vrooman, Israel Thompson, Anthony Ten Eyck and Dirk Swart. From Montgomery County, William Harper, Christopher Yates, John Frey, John Winn, Volckert Veeder and

Henry Staring. Tryon County had been patriotically renamed Montgomery County in 1784 in honor of the hero of Quebec.

The first election under the Constitution was conducted in January, 1789, and on March fourth the electors met in New York City, unanimously choosing Washington for President, John Adams for Vice-President. The inauguration was on April 30, 1789, with a great parade from Washington's residence in Cherry Street to the Federal Building at Broad and Wall streets, now the heart of the world's largest financial district. Here Robert R. Livingston, the Chancellor of New York State, administered the oath of office to the first President. After he had done so, Livingston cried: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" The crowds thundered applause, cannon were fired and there was a night of jubiliation at the establishment of the national government. New York City remained the national capital for about a year, the site in what became the District of Columbia being selected in 1790. Congress adjourned to Philadelphia, where it met until the Capitol was ready to occupy. There was much indignation in the metropolis when the decision to remove southward was made, yet the change left the city free to center its energies on its commercial growth.

Chancellor Livingston was a great-grandson of the first Lord of the Manor of Livingston. His grandfather, Robert Livingston, in 1729, received thirteen thousand acres of the Manor of Livingston, bordering the Hudson in the south end of present Columbia County, as a gift from the manor lord. This he set up as the Clermont estate. The Chancellor's father, Judge Robert R. Livingston, was an active patriot, and a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress. He died in 1775. Chancellor Livingston was born in New York City in 1746. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1775; helped draft the State Constitution; served on the State Council of Safety and was made Chancellor in the new government, 1777. Reëlected in 1783, he continued to hold that office until 1801, when he became Minister to France. There he met Robert Fulton and became interested in the latter's steamboat experiment which changed so much history. While in France he negotiated the Louisiana Purchase.

The stone house built by Chancellor Livingston's father was burned in 1777 by the British, while it was occupied by the Chancellor's mother, Margaret Beekman Livingston. She rebuilt it. The Chancellor's own house also was destroyed by the British. About 1783 he built a new mansion at Clermont, which burned in 1909. It was here that Fulton and his betrothed were welcomed as he landed

in the pioneer steamboat at the Clermont landing on the way to Albany in 1807. The pioneer Livingston manor house at Linlithgo station was razed about 1800. About it the original manor centered.

In the six years from the close of the Revolution to the inauguration of Washington, growth under the republic had already begun. One of the first new developments was the arrival of a group of Nantucket whaling men at Claverack Landing in 1783, where they bought a large acreage and began setting up a community. As a result of their efforts, Hudson—as they renamed it—became the third chartered city in the State, a great center of industry and, in 1786, owned more ships locally than were owned in New York City itself.

The migration of the Nantucket folk, mostly Quakers, was almost the first gun of the new expansion. The whaling industry of Nantucket had suffered severely during the Revolution because of British raids on shipping, and a considerable number of the leaders there decided to emigrate to more secluded waters. Seth and Thomas Jenkins, the pioneers, leaving Providence, Rhode Island, set out on the search for a new site, armed with $100,000. They paused at New York City, considered an East River farm, and then moved up the Hudson. In the bay at Claverack Landing, where the water is deep and the natural harbor looks toward the Catskills, they found what they had been seeking. They bought a wharf and three large parcels from Peter Hogeboom and from the Van Hoesan heirs and went home to get their families. They called the place Hudson Wharf in honor of the explorer.

In the spring of 1784 the new settlers came with their fleet of vessels, some of which had the frames of dwellings, put together at Nantucket, aboard. Until their arrival the land had been used chiefly for farming.

The partly built houses were taken ashore, lots apportioned, streets laid out and the homes were soon completed. A proprietary form of town was established under Articles of Agreement subscribed to in 1784, one provision being that each of the proprietors should be required to settle in person and transport his trading stock before October 1, 1785, unless unavoidably prevented. One of the unique features of this proprietorship was the establishment of Parade Hill as a public park in 1795, a rôle it has had ever since, commanding a striking panorama of river and mountains.

Signers of the Articles of Agreement were Stephen Paddock, Joseph Barnard, Benjamin Folger, Seth Jenkins, William Hall, Hezekiah Dayton, David Lawrence, Titus Morgan, Reuben Folger,

Thomas Jenkins, Reuben Macy, Cotton Gelston, John Alsop, Charles Jenkins, Ezra Reed, Gideon Gardner, John Thurston, and Nathaniel Greene.

Sites for the houses had to be approved by a committee of six, of which Seth Jenkins was chairman, an early example of civic planning, and "no person should extend his steps more than four feet from his door or sellar (*sic*) ways." On November 14, 1784, the proprietors unanimously agreed that the town "in futur (*sic*) should be called by the name of Hudson."

They were thus the first to attach the name of the explorer to a community along the shores. They were the first large group of New Englanders to take up homes in the old established Dutch bailiwick in the Hudson Valley. Their success as shipbuilders, whale and seal fishers, rope and candle makers stimulated neighboring communities. Athens, then called Loonenburgh, began building ships, and Newburgh and Poughkeepsie emulated Hudson's example and sent out whaling vessels. It has been recorded that the return of a whaling ship from a voyage with its reeking odor of oil and grease could be discovered long before the ship came into sight.

The phenomenal growth of the community is revealed by an act of incorporation passed by the Legislature in 1785, by which the city of Hudson was created, only two years after it had been settled. Seth Jenkins was elected the first mayor. By 1810 the population had become five thousand compared with twelve thousand at Albany, and it had developed into a bustling shipbuilding and repair center. Other trades grew up allied with whaling and sealing industries. The Hudson Whaling Company was formed in 1833 with Captain Laban Paddock as president. A port of entry was established in 1790.

Sealing ships went to the Falkland and other islands of the South Atlantic and whaling ships to the Peruvian coast and farther. In Diamond Street was located Thomas Jenkins' oil and candle works, considered the largest of any in the country. Talleyrand paid a visit to the factory on his travels in the United States. Launching days were occasions for celebrations, in which the townspeople mingled. Schools were let out and people from the countryside invited in. They would wait sometimes for hours at the ways before the ship would make its triumphant slide into the bay, when guns would be fired and there would be much jubilation. Rope-making was one of the fascinating industries. Some of the ropes were so heavy they had to be hauled to the wharves by oxen. In 1785 a ropewalk six hundred feet long was built on the west side of Third Street.



Gloversville from the Air

A large amount of other shipping grew up, with vessels sailing directly to Santo Domingo, Holland, Brazil and other countries. Exports included herring, an abundant Hudson River product; beef and pork from Berkshire County, Massachusetts; leather, staves, lumber and other commodities. In 1802, on March first, twenty-eight hundred loaded sleighs entered the city with produce, the winter being a favorite time for moving goods, revealing the activity generated in the surrounding region.

The city's first newpaper, the "Hudson Gazette," was established in 1785 by Ashbel Stoddard and Charles R. Webster. Only three years before Webster and Solomon Balentine had established a newspaper, the "Northern Intelligencer," in Albany. Shipbuilding, which began in the first year of settlement, was so extensive that by 1786 there were twenty-five ships carrying two thousand five hundred tons of cargo owned there, exceeding the number then owned in New York. The first vessel launched was the "Hudson," of three hundred tons, built by Jenkins and Gelston. It was commanded by Captain Robert Folger. The Bank of Columbia was chartered with a capital of $160,000 in 1792, the same year as the Bank of Albany, first banking institution in the State's capital. The Bank of Columbia was the third in the State, preceded only by institutions in Albany and New York, but continued only until 1819. The British embargo against French trade greatly injured the whaling industry. The Bank of Hudson, organized in 1808, had for its cashier Gorham A. Worth and president John C. Hogeboom. Mr. Worth subsequently became an Albany banker and wrote a valuable account of that city at the period of the transition from Dutch days. Later he was head of a New York City bank. Oliver Wiswall was president of the Hudson River Bank, organized in 1830. Farmers' Bank was chartered in 1838.

While Hudson was thus gaining such prominence, the tide of settlement continued to move up the valley and on to the west as well as across the Catskills to the Delaware and Susquehanna. Catskill, Coeymans, New Baltimore, Kinderhook, Castleton, Lansingburg and other communities adjacent to the river received their first important influx of new settlers at this time. Many farms were taken up and communities begun. The stimulus of the flourishing port at Hudson was reflected in the addition of many sloops to the picturesque traffic that then dotted the river.

Post-riders carried the mail along the Hudson's shores until 1786, when an Act was passed by the Assembly granting to Isaac Van Wyck,

Talmage Hall and John Kinney "the exclusive right to erect, set up, carry on and drive a stage wagon between Albany and New York on the east side of Hudson's river for a period of ten years." The Act restrained all opposition lines from competing during this period under a penalty of two hundred pounds. The holders of this monopoly were directed to furnish at least two covered wagons, each drawn by four horses, and trips had to be made twice weekly. Fare was four pence a mile. The original post road led farther back from the river than the present Route 9, a section of it having been improved within the last few years for use as an alternate highway. The revived route is known as 9-H and passes through Claverack, former seat of Columbia County.

Such were the early marks of the expansion as it marched up the Hudson. The effect upon Albany, likewise, was exceptional. As early as 1785 a square-rigged ship, "Experiment," built at Albany, sailed ambitiously from that port on a two-year cruise to China. Captain Thomas Dean, the skipper, bore orders from Albany burghers and neighboring folk for goods to be obtained in the oriental market. Captain Dean was the second American merchant ship commander to reach Canton. He was received with many special courtesies from the Cantonese merchants and returned with articles, many of which are still prized possessions of Albany families. Dean later sailed around the Horn to Oregon for John Jacob Astor.

Albany's proof that the frontier days were safely past came when the city fathers ordered the removal of the ancient Fort Frederick from the middle of the State Street hillside in 1784. The work proceeded very slowly and most of it was still standing in 1788 when the Constitution's adoption was celebrated. For the first time, the following spring, the city was mapped by order of common council and names officially attached to all the streets. During the Revolution the old Dutch name of Yonkers Street was lost and the wide thoroughfare leading up the hill took on the new title of State Street. A few years later the city struck off the names of thoroughfares which reminded them of the British Colonial rule, such as Duke, King, Queen and Prince streets, which gave way to less provocative titles: Duke becoming Eagle; King changed to Lion (and Lion to Washington); Queen to Elk, and Prince to Dean (in honor of the mariner). One of the Dutch names retained was Ten Broeck Street and another Van Tromp Street.

In 1786, when Albany observed the centennial of its charter obtained from Governor Dongan, it had 550 houses and 3,050 inhabi-

tants. Its rank as sixth city of the United States in size is explained by reference to the number of houses in other cities at the time: Philadelphia, 4,000; New York, 3,500; Boston, 2,100; Baltimore, 1,900; Charleston, South Carolina, 1,540; Albany, 550; New Haven, 400; Annapolis, 260; Alexandria, Virginia, 300; Richmond, 280; and Williamsburg, 230.

But this tender growth was soon to be materially accelerated. Morse, the geographer, wrote of Albany in 1789 that it contained about six hundred houses, located along nine principal streets, and was filled with buildings of old Dutch Gothic style, with the gable end to the street.

> "The gable end [he wrote] is commonly of brick, with heavy moulded ornament, slanting with notches like stairs, and an iron house for a weather cock on the top. Their houses are seldom more than one story and a half high, and have but little convenience, and less elegance, but they are kept very neat, being rubbed with a mop almost every day, and scoured every week. The same neatness however is not observed in the streets, which are very muddy most of the year, except those which are paved; and these are seldom swept and very rough.
>
> "The city of Albany contains about 4,000 inhabitants, collected from almost all parts of the northern world. As great a variety of languages are spoken in Albany as in any town in the United States. Adventurers in pursuit of wealth are led here by the advantages of trade which this place affords.
>
> "Situated on one of the finest rivers in the world, at the head of sloop navigation, surrounded with a rich and extensive back country, and the store house of the trade to and from Canada and the Lakes, it must flourish and the inhabitants cannot but grow rich."

By which it is evident that now another type of adventure had arrived—the daring that would build the region and the modern State. Once more the Hudson and Mohawk valleys formed a gateway—this time to untold riches.

Just north of Albany the new impulse had been felt by Lansingburg, the ancient Stone Arabia of Rensselaer County maps, where Abraham Lansing laid out a village in 1770. It was known familiarly as "New City" in contrast with Albany, which Dutchmen called the "oude stadt" or old city. Settlers there had been among the first to

sign the association of loyalty to the Continental Congress. In the spring of 1786 a few New Englanders led by Stephen Ashley and Benjamin Covill crossed the mountains and settled to the south of Lansingburg at what was called Vanderheyden's Ferry. They were followed by the famous Wilson brothers, Ebenezer and Sam. It soon became known as Ashley's Ferry and at a meeting of freeholders, January 5, 1789, the name Troy was adopted for the village. It was the first use of a classical name for a New York State community, and unexpectedly set a precedent. Many other new settlements established in the western part of the State took such names at Utica, Rome, Syracuse, Scipio, Homer, Pompey and others of classical origin. Troy had five stores and a dozen dwellings in 1789, but with the development of the Erie Canal speedily grew. In 1901 it absorbed its earlier neighbor on the north.

The flow of emigration through Albany began to reach proportions by 1786, and in the winter of 1795 one thousand two hundred sleighs left the city in three days with settlers and their families going overland to locate in the Mohawk Valley and farther west. The frozen ground made the best traveling surface, since the roads beyond the settlements were scarcely more than trails, if existent at all.

The route taken westerly by the pioneers was along the ancient sand trail from Albany to Schenectady, then up the Mohawk or diverging beyond an ancient landmark, the Verberg, to Duanesburg and the Cherry Valley. The Cohoes Falls, then a roaring torrent, effectually blocked the navigation from the Hudson up the Mohawk. It was called the Great Falls in distinction from the Little Falls seventy miles west. Those crossing the sand plains by winter continued on over the King's Highway along the north or south shore of the Mohawk toward their destinations. In other seasons, with the river open, they often left the wagons at Schenectady and put their goods aboard flatboats, primitive batteaux or Durham boats, which were poled up the rapids frequently encountered in the stream.

In 1789 Ananias Platt began running a stage daily from Robert Lewis' Tavern in Albany to his own inn in Lansingburg, charging a round trip fare of four shillings. Seven years later, twenty coaches were running on this route, crossing the river on the ferry at Troy. The stage routes were soon expanded, although the roads were crude and the going rough. In December, 1792, traffic with the western part of the State had already become so significant that proposals were advanced for running stages between Albany and Whitestown (Whitesboro) one hundred miles to the west. Whitestown was set-

tled in 1784 by Hugh White, from Middletown, Connecticut, first pioneer in the region beyond the old gateway at German Flats. An inscription on his monument describes him as the "patriarch" of the region.

Transport between Albany and Schenectady was improved in May, 1793, when Moses Beal erected a stage line to carry passengers from Albany to Schenectady, Johnstown and Canajoharie once a week. The coach departed on Friday mornings and returned Tuesdays, fare being three cents a mile. A stage route from Albany to Northampton, Massachusetts, over the Berkshire Trail through Pittsfield was initiated in 1793 and, in 1796, stages were carrying mail and passengers twice a week between Boston and Albany, according to a contract issued to John Clark and Reuben King.

The change that was coming over Albany as new settlers poured in was impressive to older inhabitants. A description, in 1789, pointed to these civic alterations: "We have a prospect ere another year shall transpire of seeing the principal streets not only comfortably but elegantly paved. In addition to which the wharves have been repaired and enlarged and the city adorned with several new private buildings which would not disgrace some of the principal cities in Europe and would ornament any in America." The writer, quoted by Weise, remarked that seven or eight years previous a competent English teacher was not to be found in the city, but continued:

> "We now have an academy which flourishes under the direction of Mr. Merchant, ... At that period seven or eight years ago not more than seventy, at the utmost calculation, shops and stores were kept in the city. Now we behold the Market and State Streets crowded with stores and rents in those streets enhanced to such a degree as to put houses out of the reach of inconsiderable traders. Nor had we manufactories of any kind, but depended on importation entirely for every manufactured article. Now we see the citizens, stimulated by motives of public spirit, daily promoting them. Messrs. Stevenson, Douw & Ten Eyck have erected a nail manufactory in which nails of every description are manufactured as cheap and pronounced to be superior to any imported.
>
> "Much praise is also due to James Caldwell, of the city, merchant, for his spirited exertions in promoting the manufacture of tobacco of every description, snuff, mustard and chocolate, for which purpose he has at great expense erected mills which are ranked among the first in America.

> "And I flatter myself I am not too sanguine when I indulge the idea that I shall live to see the day when this city, adorned with every necessary public building, and other improvement, will become the fixed seat of government of the Legislature; shipping of considerable bulk, owned by our own merchants, opening their canvas before our wharves, and wafting the produce of our country to distant quarters of the globe."

The forecast came true in several respects. It is perhaps the first recorded statement anticipating the location of the State Capital at Albany, which became a fact in 1797. The writer's prediction of worldwide ocean trade conducted from the city's docks had to wait nearly 135 years for realization. It was only in 1932 that the modern deep draft Port of Albany was opened to navigation, extending world ship lanes up the Hudson, as they had been in the pioneer days of shallow sailing ships.

Banking in Albany had its inception in 1792 when a group of citizens met at Lewis' Tavern, at the southeast corner of State and Pearl streets, and adopted a committee of organization. Books were opened by Jeremiah Van Rensselaer and two other members of the committee and were over subscribed in less than three hours. After the books were closed, the bank stock was sold at an advance of ten per cent. The institution was chartered as the Bank of Albany, by legislative Act of April 10, 1792. Abraham Ten Broeck was president and Gerrit W. Van Schaick cashier. Business began at 11 North Pearl Street. The bank continued until 1861. The second to be chartered was the State Bank, 1803, John Tayler, president, followed by the Mechanics & Farmers, 1811, and the Albany Savings Bank, first saving institution in the city, 1820. State Bank is known as the oldest in the country, which still occupies its original site and part of the original building.

The Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, in 1795 paying a visit to Albany, was much impressed by the commercial growth of the city.

> "The trade of Albany, [he wrote] is chiefly carried on with the produce of the Mohawk country, and extends eastward as far as cultivated lands expand. The State of Vermont and a part of New Hampshire furnish also many articles of trade; and the exports chiefly consist of timber and lumber of every sort and description, potatoes, potash, and pearl ashes, all species of grain and lastly in manufactured goods.

"These articles are, most of them, transported to Albany in winter on sledges, housed by the merchants, and by them successively transmitted to New York, where they are either sold for bills on England or exchanged for English goods, which are in return sent from Albany to the provinces, whence the articles for transportation were drawn. Business is, therefore, carried on entirely with ready money, and especially in regard to potash; not even the most substantial bills are accepted in payment.

"The trade of Albany is carried on in ninety vessels, forty-five of which belong to the inhabitants of the town and the rest to New York or other places. They are in general of seventy tons burthen, and make upon the average ten voyages a year, which on computing the freights outwards and homewards, produce a total of one hundred and twenty-six thousand tons of shipping for the trade of Albany. Every ship is navigated by four men; the master is paid twenty dollars a month, if he have not a share in the ship, the mate fifteen and a seaman nine. There is generally a cabin boy on board or more frequently a cook, as few ships have less than eight passengers on board either coming up or going down. The freight of goods is usually one shilling a hundred weight; but this varies according to their value or the room they occupy."

Liancourt wrote that "no ship saills from Albany directly to Europe" and felt the Albanians were throwing away an opportunity to become great ship owners and exporters. Ships were built in Albany for $27.50 a ton, he noted, and vessels of seasoned timber lasted thirty years or more. Commenting on the up-river growth, he wrote:

> "Two new towns, built five or six years ago, a few miles above Albany . . . . share in this trade. These two towns, which have rapidly raised themselves to a considerable degree of importance, and are but three or four miles distance from each other, carrying on the same trade as Albany with about twenty-five or thirty vessels, which belong to them, draw from the back country the productions of these fruitable provinces, transmit them to New York, take in return European goods, and supply with them those parts which formerly

> were supplied from Albany. The greater distance however and less depth of water are circumstances unfavorable to these new towns. . . . . Yet they continue their trade, increase daily, and will probably animate Albany to greater boldness and activity. New City (Lansingburg) contains about sixty or seventy stores or shops and Troy fifty or sixty. These are now settled merchants, all prosper and their number is daily increasing."

Liancourt stopped at the home of Jacobus Bogardus when he visited Catskill. He found the village in a transition state, growing out of its primeval forest setting and considerable farming under way. "The property on which the town stands is disputed by three claimants," he wrote, "but the lots bring a good price and are sold as high as 375 dollars." He also noted that horse races were common, thus hitting upon an ancient and favorite sport of the Hudson Valley. There was a ferry in 1797 at Catskill Landing to the east side of the river, which immediately engaged in competition with the Athens-Hudson Ferry.

What was going on along the Hudson was reflected throughout the western country. As early as 1789 Canandaigua was settled by New Englanders and in that year it was reported the migrations "were almost beyond belief." A traveler reaching Albany found two vessels arrived there from Rhode Island with fifty-eight persons aboard bound for the Genesee region. Many came up the Hudson from New York City, New Rochelle and other points to search for new homes and Vermonters shifted in great numbers into upper New York State.

Others were flocking out to Otsego, Johnstown and neighboring locations off the main trails where they felt they might find greater opportunities. Judge William Cooper, of Burlington, New Jersey, in 1785, bought a tract on Otsego Lake, reporting on his first visit "there existed not an inhabitant." He laid out a village in 1788, and sold forty thousand acres in the locality to immigrants. In 1790 he took up his home at Cooperstown with his family, one member of which was his son, J. Fenimore Cooper, who became the first American novelist.

James Butterfield, a Revolutionary soldier, erected an inn in 1795 which still stands in Hartwick, soon after a mill was built by Samuel Mudge on Otego Creek. The settlement was begun by the Rev. John Christopher Hartwick, a Lutheran missionary, who purchased a

tract from the Indians in 1750. In 1791 he appointed Judge Cooper, his neighbor, agent for the disposal of the land, and Cooper sold thirteen thousand acres. Hartwick died in 1796, providing in his will for the erection of a school, founded in 1815, which has now become Hartwick College at Oneonta.

Resettlement of Cherry Valley was begun in 1783. The Cherry Valley Academy was chartered in 1796 by the Regents of the State. A new Presbyterian Church was built in 1786 and an Episcopal Church in 1805. The first tavern was built in 1786, and two years later five more, as travel along the trail increased.

The Mohawk Turnpike was in operation in 1790, later being rebuilt sixty feet wide, with a broken stone surface. There were ten toll bridges between Utica and Schenectady. Canajoharie became an important center due to the activities of the seven Kane brothers, who established a store there in 1790. They became wealthy trading in wheat, potash and other articles. Two afterwards lived in Albany, James and Archibald Kane. Maude, English traveler, reported the Kanes took in two thousand five hundred bushels of potash one fall for which they got $25 a bushel, besides quantities of wheat and other goods. They had the largest store west of Schenectady.

Broadalbin was first settled after the Revolution by immigrants from Scotland and there was a further influx of Scotch settlers in the Johnstown and Kingsborough region. Northville was inhabited as early as 1788.

An early settler in Livingstonville, Schoharie County, was Daniel Shays, leader of Shays' Rebellion of 1786-87. The insurgency arose as a result of the inability of Congress to raise funds to pay the Revolutionary soldiers. The revolters attempted to seize the Springfield Arsenal. General Shays fled on the collapse of the movement, and was pardoned some years later. He lived fifteen years in Schoharie County.

Unadilla, which had played so important a part in the border wars, was settled in 1784, when it was known as Wattles' Ferry. Lands of Hugh Wallace, a Tory, were confiscated and sold to Goldsborough Banyar, of Albany, with whom were associated Henry Livingston and Abraham Lansing. In 1800 it became the terminus of a turnpike from Catskill, connecting on the east side of the Hudson with a road through Salisbury, Connecticut, to Boston. This was the famous Susquehanna Turnpike.

Athens was settled in 1780, when it was known as Loonenburgh, and in 1790 Edward Livingston and some associates ventured to start

a village, encouraged by the success that had followed the development of Hudson. They bought a tract from Albert Van Loon, and laid out streets which they named "Liberty," "Equality" and others suggestive of the French republic, naming the village "Esperanza." Though the boat-building industry became very active, the village



Cohoes—Plaque Commemorating First Power Mill for the Manufacture of Knit Fabrics

project did not succeed and the community's development continued on adjacent sites.

The town of Kinderhook, ten miles square, was laid out in 1788. Hillsdale had been settled in 1725 by Mathew Noble and others from Westfield, Connecticut. New Lebanon was named from Lebanon,

Connecticut, by John Tilden, who removed there in 1790. New Englanders settled in Red Rock in 1750.

Shaker Colonies were developed by followers of Mother Ann Lee in Niskayuna, Mount Lebanon and Hancock, Massachusetts. The founder of this order came from England in 1774, setting up a colony on land acquired from the Van Rensselaers in Albany County. The Shakers were distinguished by their celibacy, as well as their skill at handicrafts and raising herbs and seeds. They functioned as a community. Mother Ann died in 1784, after a trip through New England seeking converts.

The expansion of settlement, although far from lacking the volume that developed in the next few years, was sufficient to cause a demand for the setting up of new county governments. The up-State region above Ulster and Orange still consisted of only three counties —Albany, Montgomery and Washington (formerly Charlotte). The rise of bustling young Hudson city found a direct reflection in the setting off of Columbia County by the Legislature on April 4, 1786. The first courthouse was located at Claverack, where it remained until 1805, when it was moved to Hudson. The larger part of the area had up to then been included in Albany County.

Rensselaer County was set off from Albany County on February 7, 1791, due to the prominence of new communities there. Troy was made the county seat. The county occupied what had been the East District or Manor of Rensselaerwyck, plus a northerly section including Lansingburg and Schaghticoke.

Herkimer County was set off from Montgomery County, February 16, 1791, the first courthouse being at Whitesboro, since the county then included a part of Oneida County. In 1798 Herkimer became the county seat.

Otsego County was formed from Montgomery County on February 16, 1791, the same time as Herkimer County. It then embraced a large unsettled territory and two organized towns, Otsego and Cherry Valley. Cooperstown was named the county seat.

Schoharie County was organized April 6, 1795, taken partly from Albany and Otsego counties. Schoharie was the county seat.

Greene County was set off from Albany County, March 25, 1800, a part also being taken from Ulster County. It was named in honor of General Nathanael Greene, of the Revolution. Catskill, named the county seat, was a large wheat and flour market before the construction of the Erie Canal, receiving its wheat by turnpike from the Schoharie country. Catskill enjoyed a big boat-building and shipping trade.

Schenectady County was formed March 7, 1809, with Schenectady city as the county seat. The district had sent a representative to the Provincial Assembly from 1726 to the Revolution and was incorporated as a town in 1788. Schenectady city was chartered March 26, 1798, having been long delayed in this step by the provisions of its Dongan Charter of 1684, which placed the town in the hands of trustees. Up to this time, since its settlement in 1661, Schenectady had been officially a part of Albany County; now it was free to conduct its own affairs.

Fulton County, named in honor of the steamboat inventor, was formed April 18, 1838, from Montgomery County. Dissatisfaction arose when the Montgomery County seat was moved from Johnstown to Fonda in 1836, and a movement was begun for the creation of a new county for the Johnstown area. Johnstown, which had been the original seat of Tryon County, established by Sir William Johnson, still uses the courthouse and jail built by him.

As a result of these excisions, Albany County, once the giant of the region, shrank to a shadow of its former self. The taking off of Tryon and Charlotte (Washington) counties, in 1772, had been the first step evidencing the region's growth, settlements then having spread so far from the old center at the Hudson-Mohawk corner that journeys to Albany County Courthouse were inconvenient. The formation of the other counties, following Columbia in 1786, revealed the second phase of expansion, although the real growth did not occur until after the Erie Canal and railroad developments. By the partitioning of territory, Albany County thinned down to an area which encompassed almost exactly the western half of the original Manor of Rensselaerwyck, extending twenty-four miles along the Hudson and twenty-four miles into the country. Since 1772 this had been known as the West Manor. There was a small additional territory outside the old manor at Cohoes, bordering the Mohawk, originally granted to Hilletje Van Slyck by the Indians, which was included in the county bounds. She became the wife of Pieter Danielse Van Olinda. The western line of the county, when divided from Schoharie County, was laid out to parallel the windings of the Hudson River, which formed Albany County's eastern boundary. Albany County's south line, separating it from Greene County, is the original south line of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck on that side of the river.

Rensselaer County's south line also is that of the original Manor of Rensselaerwyck, the county comprising for the most part the East Manor, as it was known after 1772. Added to Rensselaer County on

the north, however, was a considerable territory including the Stone Arabia (Lansingburg), Schaghticoke, Hoosick and Pittstown patents.

Livingston Manor had formerly been in Dutchess County, but became a permanent part of Columbia County, whose south line approximates the south line of the original manor.

The eastern borders of Columbia and Rensselaer counties were in debatable ground, assailed by Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut settlers, who claimed the borders of their states extended into that region. The settlement of these disputes was not accomplished until after long controversy and even bloodshed, in which militia were called to drive out squatters from the contested area. Finally it was agreed that New York State should recognize the occupation of land as conferring rights on the border settlers, and hence the Massachusetts and Connecticut lines protrude considerably west of the Vermont line. One of the centers of controversy was Boston Corners, where some bitter fighting occurred. This community was transferred to New York State in 1855 by Act of Congress. In this vicinity the beautiful Taconic Park now ranges along the tri-state border line. The dispute over the Connecticut border lasted until 1880. The Massachusetts line was fixed in 1787.

The western boundary of Otsego County along the Unadilla River follows partly the original Fort Stanwix treaty line by which the white settlements were separated from the Six Nations territory in 1768.

Herkimer County runs west as far as the Utica city line, or what was practically the boundary between the Mohawk Nation and the Oneidas, who were west of that point.

While Albany was the original "mother" county in the up-State region, the great subdivisions were made from Montgomery and Washington counties. After the 1788 treaty with the Six Nations, which followed by two years the agreement with Massachusetts over the title to the western lands, Montgomery County extended all the way to Niagara. As the development of the State continued, the whole area was split up, and more counties created. The order of these county establishments was as follows:

Ontario, 1789; Herkimer, Otsego and Tioga, 1791; Onondaga, 1794; Schoharie (part), 1795; Steuben, 1796; Delaware (part), 1797; Chenango and Oneida, 1798; Cayuga, 1799; St. Lawrence (part), 1802; Genesee, 1802; Seneca, 1804; Jefferson and Lewis, 1805; Madison, Broome and Allegany, 1806; Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Niagara and Cortland, 1808; Oswego and Hamilton, 1816; Tompkins, 1817; Livingston, Monroe and Erie, 1821; Yates and

Wayne, 1823; Orleans, 1824; Chemung, 1836; Fulton, 1838; Wyoming, 1841; Schuyler, 1854.

By the subdivision of Washington County, east of Montgomery and north of Fulton and the Mohawk River, counties were established extending through the Adirondacks to the Canadian border. Saratoga County was set off in 1791 from Albany County.

The new county capitals were interesting, still filled with lore of the frontier. At least one of the first courthouses was built of logs. Albany County used its original Stadt Huys, scene of the Congress of 1754, until the first capitol was built in 1808, when it shared its city and county offices with the State of New York. A new courthouse and city hall was built in 1829. Albany County's population, in 1790, was 13,950 and, in 1830, was 53,520, revealing the rapidity of the new growth. The first bridge across the Mohawk River was built at Cohoes in 1794. It was nine hundred feet long, fifteen feet above the bed of the river, built on thirteen stone piers, at a cost of $12,000.

Schenectady, which became the county seat of Schenectady County in 1808, had become a chartered city in 1798, with Joseph C. Yates as the first mayor. The incorporation ended the long trusteeship, which dated from the Dongan charter of 1684. By agreement of the board of trustees, who held the common lands in fee, the public lands were conveyed to the new city. In 1797 there were five hundred families who claimed rights in the common lands and demanded leases at nominal prices. These claims were finally adjusted when the city government was taken over by the "Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty." In 1810 the common lands were sold.

Schenectady's position as the terminus of river traffic, due to the navigation blockade imposed by Cohoes Falls, gave it great advantages in the post-Revolution period. A bridge across the Mohawk at that point was built in 1808 by Theodore Burr, the famous bridge builder, cousin of Aaron Burr. In 1785, Schenectady Academy was organized by a union of Christian churches. Its building, erected in 1795, became the first structure of Union College. Mayor Yates, in 1822, became Governor of the State. The city's population in 1795 was about three thousand. The charter gave it an area twelve miles long by eight miles wide, dimensions of the earlier township, subsequently reduced. The western county boundary line was at Kinquariones. In 1840 the Schenectady County population had risen to 17,387.

Rensselaer County was named for the last patroon, Stephen Van Rensselaer, who was recognized to be one of the ablest leaders of

the time, generous and wise patron of public development, arts, and education. The county was formed in 1791, the year that Vermont became a State. The Legislature appropriated six hundred pounds to the county for the erection of a courthouse, leaving to the people to add as much more as they saw fit. A great battle followed as to whether Lansingburg or Troy should be the county seat. It was finally decided that Troy had raised more money than her neighbor for the courthouse and the decision was made accordingly. The first county officers, however, were sworn in at the inn of Ananias Platt, Lansingburg, April 15, 1791, with Anthony Ten Eyck as first judge of the common pleas court. The first court session also met at this tavern and there the first lawyer in the county, John Woodworth, was admitted to the bar. The court adjourned to meet in Ashley's Tavern.

The village of Troy was in a thriving condition, conducting a large sloop trade. More than forty vessels were in the harbor one day in 1791, nineteen of them being over forty tons burden each. The first nail factory was built in 1809, out of which came the noted Burden Iron Works. In 1816 Troy became a city. The Rensselaer School, sponsored by Stephen Van Rensselaer, was founded in 1824, evolving into Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, the first American engineering school. In 1821 the Emma Willard School was established in Troy, after having moved from Waterford.

Claverack, the first capital of Columbia County, had been the ancient seat of the lower Van Rensselaer Manor. The estate was divided in 1784 by the five heirs of Johannes Van Rensselaer—Robert, Henry, James, John and Catherine (Mrs. Philip Schuyler). John I. Van Rensselaer succeeded to the Crailo house at Greenbush. The Washington Seminary, pioneer academic school in the county, was opened at Claverack in 1777 by the Rev. John Gabriel Gebhard, pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church. An English school had been opened in Kinderhook in 1778 by Andrew Mayfield Carshore, a former soldier in Burgoyne's army. Carshore afterwards became head of Washington Seminary for twenty-five years, leaving to take charge of Hudson Academy. The Claverack Seminary was rechartered in 1854 as Claverack College and Hudson River Institute. Lands for the Reformed Church at Claverack had been allotted in 1767 by John Van Rensselaer.

At Clermont, in 1791, a public school was established by special legislative act, before any general school system had been adopted in the State. The first meeting of Columbia County supervisors was in June, 1786, when they voted one thousand five hundred pounds to

build a courthouse and jail. In the courthouse Alexander Hamilton argued the famous Croswell case involving the freedom of the press. The county seat was shifted to Hudson in 1805. In the last courthouse were conducted many famous trials, including that of Smith Boughton, the anti-rent war leader.

Lindenwald, the famous estate which later became the home of Martin Van Buren, was built on the fringe of Kinderhook in 1797 by Abraham Van Ness.

Catskill, the Greene County seat, was a rising shipping center with vessels on the river and in foreign trade. Catskill Academy was established in 1800. The laying out of the Susquehanna, Schoharie and Albany turnpikes stimulated the growth of the region. Many New Englanders came in to settle in and beyond the river town. The "Catskill Messenger" was established in 1830. In 1795 there was a great trade in planks, which Liancourt said were quoted at $16 a thousand; shingles at $7.50 a thousand; and barrel staves at $17.50, of oak. Hemlock bark sold for four dollars a cord. Sloops were built at Catskill for $45 a ton and were usually of seventy to ninety tons each. In 1792 the village had ten dwellings; in 1803, two hundred, when it also had twelve wharves. It was incorporated as a village in 1806. Very early the Catskills were utilized as a summer resort, the Catskill Mountain House having been the pioneer in this venture in 1823. At Prattsville was established an enormous tanning industry, which spread to Tannersville and other places in the mountains. The ice industry was also a pioneer, Hudson River ice having been sent on sloops to New York as early as 1828, becoming a big occupation in Coxsackie, where some years later icehouses had four hundred thousand tons capacity.

Schoharie, scene of the Tory and Indian raids in the Revolution, acquired new settlers after the war from New England. The Legislature in 1798 authorized a tax of $2,000 on the freeholders and inhabitants to build the courthouse. The first building was burned in 1845 by a prisoner, although the jail section survived. In 1870 a stone courthouse was built. William Beekman was the first county judge.

When Fonda was made the capital of Montgomery County, in 1836, the courthouse was placed on the site of the home of Douw Fonda, victim of the massacre of 1780. In the village had also lived Sheriff White, the Tory leader, who was jailed by the patriots. Jelles Fonda became a leading merchant. The village was the site of ancient Caughnawaga, Mohawk Indian town.

The establishment of Cooperstown, in 1786, has been cited. William Cooper, the founder, became the first judge of the county. It is told that he had difficulty persuading his family to move to the wilderness home, and bodily brought his wife there from her home in Burlington, New Jersey. Since she refused to leave her rocking chair, he packed her and it onto the wagon. The first courthouse at Cooperstown was a two-storied log building and was used for ten years.

Johnstown, having been the original capital of Montgomery County remained such until 1836, when the shift was made to Fonda. It resumed the rôle in 1838, when it became the capital of Fulton County, and continues to use the courthouse and jail built by Sir William Johnson. The first stagecoach to Johnstown was that in 1790 which linked Albany, Schenectady, Johnstown and Canajoharie, traveling between Schenectady and Canajoharie on the south side of the river.

The north shore settlement of Herkimer became the capital of Herkimer County in 1791. It had about 250 population and was the third largest community in the Mohawk Valley. In 1840 the population was two thousand four hundred. This had been the western gateway of the valley in the border wars, and under the new régime was to have a spectacular development as an industrial center.

While the counties were being set up, there was much discussion over the location of the permanent capital of the State. The Legislature, which had met at various places, including New York City, White Plains, Kingston, Fishkill, Albany and Poughkeepsie, now decided to settle down. The western migration and interior development of the State made it apparent that the capital would have to be placed back from the seaboard in a more central location. Throughout the Colonial period, while New York had been the official residence of the governors, Albany, because of its frontier position, had been a "second capital." The governors always had houses allotted to them in the fort and city for their accommodation while negotiating with the Indians and sending off troops to battle the enemy.

As early as 1779, John Jay, while a member of the Continental Congress, had written that "Schenectady is the only proper place for the seat of government and the sooner the idea is adopted and carried into execution the better." Jay doubtless considered Schenectady a safer place than Kingston, which had been burned by the British in 1777, putting the Legislature to hasty flight.

In the final selection, Albany seems to have been chosen because it was the meeting point of the two great valley routes of the Mohawk

and Hudson. Schenectady was to enjoy another kind of distinction as the seat of the first college erected in upper New York State, and one of the earliest in the country. In 1785, through the efforts of clergymen of various denominations, a Union Academy was opened in Schenectady. The school prospered and ten years later a building was erected at Union and Ferry streets. The forming of a college had been agitated in the meantime and drew support from Albany as well as points up and down the Mohawk Valley. In 1795 the Legislature approved the charter for Union College. So delighted were the inhabitants that bells were rung and cannon fired.

One of the subscriptions to the college came from a hunter living a hundred miles back in the wilderness, who wanted a place where his son could receive an education. "With a superb naiveté," wrote Dr. Charles A. Richmond, describing the efforts to locate the college, "they declared that no place in America was so favorable for the planting of a great institution of learning as this little hamlet on the banks of the Mohawk." Among the chief contributors were Stephen Van Rensselaer and General Philip Schuyler, of Albany. The college at first occupied the academy building. The first president, the Rev. John Blair Smith, of Philadelphia, was succeeded by the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, son of the famous theologian. After a brief interlude there came to the presidency Dr. Eliphalet Nott, a young Presbyterian minister of Albany, who had gained prominence with a sermon preached on the fatal duel between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr in 1804. He was called to Union College and remained until 1866, establishing a record which is without parallel for its term or success in American educational history. Various attempts were made subsequently to found a college in Albany, but these failed, and eventually Albany institutions, such as Albany Law School and Albany Medical College became branches of Union University.

So Schenectady became a college town on the fringe of an undeveloped country and Albany got the capital. Each city has drawn particular benefits from the decisions that were made in 1795 and 1797.

Albany, it is apparent, had hoped for some time to win the coveted honor of designation as the seat of State Government. When the common council ordered the streets mapped in 1794 they laid out at the head of State Street hill a public square, overlooking the Hudson, which afforded also, in those days, a panorama of the Catskills to the south. Past the public square went the land arteries of travel, a constant procession of wagons and oxcarts, and at the foot of the hill

was the picturesque flow of sailing sloops, moving cargoes to the sea, and bringing goods and settlers in.

The beauty as well as the convenience of the location in reference to the widening domain of the State undoubtedly exerted an effect upon the legislators. The Legislature had met first in Albany in 1780 and returned for various other sessions before the final choice was made. An Act passed March 10, 1797, provided for "erecting a public building in the County of Albany" on land given by the city for State offices. This proved to be a yellow brick office structure at the corner of State and Lodge streets to house the departments of government. The Legislature met that year in old Stadt Huys on Broadway, and continued to occupy it, small as it was, for ten years. The city also had its offices there, and it housed the county court as well. A busy place it must have been!

The State offices having been pinned down to the Albany site, it appeared that the Legislature would now remain there also, and this was confirmed when Governor John Jay took up residence at 60 State Street in the Caldwell mansion. Since 1797 the legislative sessions have been held regularly in the city. The next move was on April 6, 1804, when an Act was adopted for the erection of the first capitol financed by the State. This was to be in the public square and park donated by the city of Albany. The enabling statute, however, bore the strange title, "An act making provision for improving Hudson's River below the City of Albany and for other purposes." A rider provided for the appointment of commissioners to erect the building in collaboration with the city. As a result, the first capitol was erected at a cost of $110,685, of which the State paid $73,485; Albany city $34,200, and Albany County $3,000.

Commenting on the curious phraseology of the bill, Governor Hoffman, at a later date, said it indicated the desire of the Legislature to avoid a heated controversy on the choice of a site. The commissioners appointed to erect the building were John Tayler (later Acting Governor), Daniel Hale, Mayor Philip S. Van Rensselaer of Albany, Simeon DeWitt and Nicholas N. Quackenbush.

Mayor Van Rensselaer laid the corner stone April 24, 1806. Philip Hooker was the architect. The building was occupied in 1807. It included quarters for the State courts, Legislature and Governor, as well as offices for the functioning of Albany city and county. The building stood near the south side of present Capitol Park, bordering State Street, and had a row of elm trees leading from the entrance down to Eagle Street. These

still may be seen. Travelers of a century ago went into rhapsodies over the splendid architecture of the building as well as its location on the Albany hilltop. It was porticoed in Grecian style and surmounted by a figure of blind Justice holding scales and sword. The first capitol was not identified as such until 1809, when a supplementary appropriation bill was passed, attaching the name of "Capitol" to it. The city and county retained an interest in the building until 1829, when in consideration of a payment of $17,500 they released all rights to the land and building, retaining only police surveillance over the park in which the building was located. The capitol was used for seventy years, and was the scene of much famous legislation, including the State-wide abolition of slavery and the passage of the Erie Canal Act. It was torn down during the construction of the present capitol, which was begun in 1871.

The present Court of Appeals Building, originally erected for State offices, dates from 1842. It houses the State's highest tribunal. The building, of pure Ionic design, stands between the Albany City Hall and Albany County Courthouse on Eagle Street.

Albany's famous Stadt Huys on Broadway was sold for $17,000 and vacated November 1, 1808. Its existence ended when destroyed by fire April 30, 1836. Construction of a new city hall was begun in August, 1829, by Mayor John Townsend, designed by Philip Hooker. This was destroyed by fire February 10, 1880. The present city hall, containing a campanile, was erected in 1882. Henry H. Richardson, Boston, was the architect.

At no place were the changes of the new day more striking than in this old Dutch city. The "Yankee invasion" struck with startling effect. Chief among the newcomers was Elkanah Watson, a sort of York State Benjamin Franklin, man of many abilities and keen vision, who did a vast amount of pioneering in the region. Watson, coming from New England, succeeded in getting himself elected a constable and prosecuted civic reform with a vigorous hand. He campaigned against the Dutch waterspouts which projected well over the street, gushing water on pedestrians during heavy rains, a precaution which kept the water from deluging the building foundations. He also agitated for improved streets, and succeeded in getting the grade of State Street hill raised to provide easier passage for the flow of travel. Wagons were always getting mired in the thick mud. A pavement was laid along the extreme edges on both sides of the street. Watson was said to have been pursued by irate Dutch housewives whose houses were flooded by the change in street elevation,



Old Kingsborough Academy, Gloversville

but survived for many other feats. He was a pioneer of the Erie Canal, a banker, merchant, and inspired the first agricultural fair in the State, in Otsego County.

Great changes were wrought in other directions. Gorham A. Worth, the former Hudson cashier who became a bank official in Albany, has left delightful recollections of the transition period at the beginning of the nineteenth century. New Englanders aroused the stolid Dutch city, introduced a new style of architecture, launched scores of business and shipping enterprises. Almost over night, Worth wrote, the Dutch régime toppled, Dutch burghers in knee breeches, silk waistcoats and broad-brimmed hats, accustomed to a quiet city life, had to step a bit more briskly. The old notched roof Dutch buildings and chanticleer weathervanes began to vanish and in 1800 "the roosters that braved Indians and crowed in the face of Burgoyne came down and the old gable heads were replaced by English type dwellings. In a few brief years, all that was venerable in the days of the ancient burghers disappeared. Even the dogs began to bark in broken English. Neither cocked hat nor iron rooster has been seen ever since."

Now mingled with the old Dutch families, including the Bleeckers, Lansings, Douws, Van Schaicks, Ten Eycks, Ten Broecks, Pruyns, Hochstrassers, Van Loons, and Staatses, Worth noted, were mingled English, Scotch and Irish families of such men as James Kane, late of Canajoharie; William James, Dudley Walsh, Isaiah Townsend, Gilbert Stewart, Thomas Goold, Thomas Mather, John Spencer and others. William James, becoming a rich grocer and capitalist, founded the family so noted in literary annals. He was the city's spokesman at the Erie Canal celebration.

The physical appearance of the city was visibly altered at this time. The crowding of traffic made the occupation of the largest street in town by public buildings no longer practical. State Street, indeed, had a singular aspect with Fort Frederick in the middle of the hiii, St. Peter's Church midway in the street just below it; and the Dutch Church occupying the middle of the Broadway-State Street corner, at the foot of the declivity. The fort was the first to come down, being removed between 1784 and 1789. More than one hundred loads of the stone were taken for the Lutheran Church, then building, and other stones were used for gutters and paving blocks. Removal of this great barrier across the hilltop permitted the improvement of the roadway which up to then had dipped into a ravine around the south end of the fort. St. Peter's Church, built in

1715, came down in 1802 by agreement with the city, which allotted the church a new site at the northern side of the street. The Dutch Church, originally built in 1656, and enlarged in 1715, was the last to go. In 1797 the congregation had begun the erection of the twin steeple church on North Pearl Street, for which Philip Hooker was architect. In 1806, the old edifice was sold to the city for $5,000 and leveled to the ground. There were burial crypts beneath it. The bodies were removed to a new ground west of the Capitol Hill.

So, at last, at its original starting point, the highway to the west was cleared for the march of progress. The din of traffic has never ceased to roll over that route. But where once the road ended in a wall of palisades at the head of Albany hilltop, it now stretched far beyond. The last mark of the frontier age was the tolling of bells December 23, 1799, when word was received of the death of the first President, George Washington. There were ceremonies of bereavement on that occasion in all the communities. But the Nation was now on secure ground. The unfoldment of the age of transportation, invention, science, education, commerce and the arts was now to come.

In the first decade after the founding of the national government the influx of settlers can be readily traced. The migration from New England particularly swelled the growth of Columbia, Rensselaer, Greene and Otsego counties, as well as those along the Mohawk.

The population of the various counties in 1800 was as follows: Albany, 25,155; Columbia, 35,322; Fulton, 6,931; Greene, 12,584; Herkimer, 16,332; Montgomery, 13,015; Otsego, 21,636; Rensselaer, 30,442; Schenectady, 8,888; Schoharie, 9,808. In the next twenty years still more remarkable effects of new settlement were recorded.